

# GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

APRIL 1944



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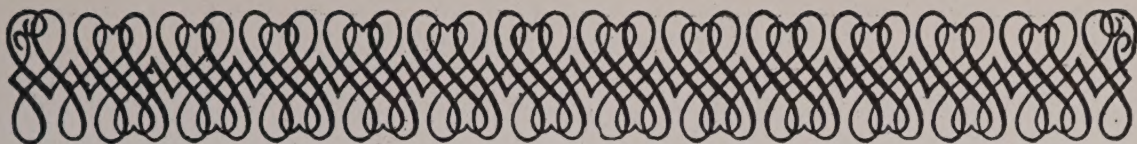


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# CONSTANTINOPOLITAN BOOK ILLUMINATION

## IN THE PERIOD OF THE LATIN CONQUEST

IN his fundamental treatment of Byzantine book illumination, Kondakoff<sup>1</sup> conceived of the development of this branch of art on the basis of political history. Byzantine book illumination, he stated, emerged in the early Byzantine period, the first Golden Age, and fell back into obscurity after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, i.e., after the end of the second Golden Age. It is true that in a final chapter he dealt briefly with selected manuscripts of a later date, but he considered them to be degenerate, assuming that the artistic production had stopped more or less after the conquest of the capital and never recuperated from its breakdown even after the return of the Palaeologan emperors in 1261. This concept was adapted by most Byzantine scholars after the appearance of this epoch-making work. Brockhaus in dealing with the illustrated manuscripts on Mount Athos<sup>2</sup> was one of the first to follow Kondakoff's judgment about the decline after 1200, but at the same time, when he comes to describe some of the late Byzantine manuscripts like the Gospel Book in Pantokratoros No. 47 from the year 1301 or the one in Vatopedi No. 938 from the year 1304 (Figs. 13-14), he cannot suppress some appreciation of the artistic quality of their miniatures, describing them as "excelling by the carefulness of their decoration"<sup>3</sup>. If one compares the evangelists of these Gospels with those miniatures which Kondakoff ascribes to the same period, one gets the impression that the great Russian scholar unfortunately had selected

1. N. P. KONDAKOFF, *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, Paris, Vol. I, 1886; Vol. II, 1891.

2. H. BROCKHAUS, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, Leipzig, 1891.

3. BROCKHAUS, *op. cit.*, p. 235.



a series of provincial manuscripts for the characterization of the late Byzantine period while those of higher quality were either not yet known in his time or were wrongly dated. The handbook of Dalton<sup>4</sup> does not even touch the question of book illumination after the XII century, and Wulff<sup>5</sup> passes lightly over the XIII and XIV centuries, considering manuscripts of this period as disintegrated products.

Only in the last twenty years has the book illumination of the late Byzantine period attracted more attention, but this interest, as shown by Diehl, Ebersolt, and Gerstinger<sup>6</sup>, concerns the iconographical rather than the stylistic aspect. The comparatively numerous classical texts with illustrations in this late period as well as the considerable number of historical portraits and the huge miniature-cycle of the only preserved illustrated historical chronicle of Johannes Scylitzes in Madrid are chiefly responsible for this growing interest. The same scholars treated this period as a whole as decadent from the stylistic viewpoint, although in exceptional cases they find words of high praise for miniatures like those of the Johannes Cantacuzenus manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 1242, which dates between 1370 and 1375<sup>7</sup>.

Alpatoff was the first to recognize the peculiar artistic values of good Palaeologan book illumination. Aided by his familiarity with Russian icon-painting, which owes so much to Palaeologan art, he saw more clearly than any Western scholar at that time the formative elements of the late Byzantine art. He analyzed its expressive and picturesque qualities in connection with a cycle of full-page miniatures of a New Testament and Psalter manuscript in Moscow, cod. 25, a manuscript which he attributed rightly to the XIV century<sup>8</sup>, whereas Kondakoff had classified it among the manuscripts of the second Golden Age<sup>9</sup>. No wonder Alpatoff became suspicious as to whether among the manuscripts generally ascribed to the middle Byzantine period, there might be others which had hitherto been wrongly dated<sup>10</sup>. Stimulated by this new trend of Byzantine scholarship, Buberl and Gerstinger in their catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in Vienna grouped around the Gospel Book Vindob. gr. 300, which contains a set of splendid Palaeologan miniatures<sup>11</sup>, quite a number of other Greek manuscripts of high artistic quality.

Even these scholars who started out to build up a highly developed Palaeologan school still maintained another of Kondakoff's notions, namely, that the intervening decades of the Latin conquest did not produce works of art of any standard. The

4. O. M. DALTON, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford 1911, Chapter VII.

5. O. WULFF, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, Vol. II, 1924, p. 540.

6. CH. DIEHL, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, Vol. II, 1926, p. 872 ff.; J. EBERSOLT, *La Miniature Byzantine*, 1926, p. 54 ff.; H. GERSTINGER, *Die Griechische Buchmalerei*, 1926, p. 37 ff.

7. H. OMONT, *Facsimilés des miniatures des plus anciens Manuscrits Grecs*, 2nd ed., 1929, pl. CXXXVI-CXXXVII.

8. M. V. ALPATOFF, *A Byzantine illuminated manuscript of the Palaeologue Epoch in Moscow*, in: "Art Bulletin", XII, 1930, p. 207 ff.

9. KONDAKOFF, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 160—A XII century date was also accepted by GERSTINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

10. ALPATOFF, *loc. cit.*, p. 218.

11. P. BUBERL AND H. GERSTINGER, *Die Byzantinischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Vol. II, 1938, p. 64 and pl. XXXI-XXXIIa.





FIG. 1. — Sketches — Wolfenbüttel Landesbibliothek, Cod. 61.2. Aug. oct. folio 91 recto.

judgment of Gerstinger that "the artistic activities of the capital were nearly completely shut off for more than half a century"<sup>12</sup> is typical, as is the statement of Tikkanen that "the Byzantine book illumination during the foreign rule of the Latins shows the lamentable picture of a complete disintegration of an artistic system once so firmly formulated, and of a falling back into a

primitivity of artistic incapacity."<sup>13</sup> It must be made clear, however, that these opinions were not based upon any documentary evidence of disintegrated works of art of this critical period, but upon the preconceived idea that because of political disturbances in Constantinople during the Latin conquest, the social and economic conditions prevented any production of art, a theory which more than once has misled art historians.

On the other hand, looking at Byzantine painting from the viewpoint of the West, it can be observed that, after strong but not lasting receptions of Byzantine influence in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods, the most profound and the most continuous infiltration of Byzantine style that ever took place occurred at the end of the XII and through most of the XIII centuries. The book illumination of Saxonia and Thuringia, as Haseloff successfully demonstrated<sup>14</sup>, is completely dominated by the Byzantine style, and this influence is hardly less penetrating in other provinces of Germany<sup>15</sup>. However, since the history of Byzantine book illumination had not been sufficiently developed from the stylistic point of view at the time when Haseloff proved its influence upon the West, he and others after him dealt with the Eastern parallels without embarking on their dating so that one cannot get a clear idea of which of the Byzantine documents they quote could actually have served as models. The most natural conclusion, of course, would be to assume the existence of a highly

12. GERSTINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

13. J. J. TIKKANEN, *Studien über die Farbengebung in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei*, Helsingfors, 1933, p. 183.

14. A. HASELOFF, *Eine Thüringisch-Sächsische Malerschule des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1897.

15. H. SWARZENSKI, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau*, Berlin, 1936.





FIG. 2. — MATTHEW. — Athens National Library, Cod. 118 folio 1 verso.

developed XIII century book illumination which was capable of influencing the West throughout nearly a century. But here the Western art historians were confronted with the verdict of the Byzantinists, according to whom, as already mentioned, nothing much worth while had been produced in Constantinople during this critical period. One way out of this difficulty was the assumption that the great amount of spoils taken in 1204 in Constantinople were the main source for the acquaintance of the Occident with Byzantine art. One becomes suspicious, however, as to whether the spoils of the capital are a sufficient explanation for the powerful influence which Byzantine art exerted on the West for nearly three generations after the fall of the Eastern capital. But do we really have to assume that in the period of the Latin conquest Constantinople did not produce anything? Why could

it not have been that the Eastern capital, even in the time of foreign domination, produced those manuscripts which gave so decisive a turn to the development of Western, notably German, book illumination? But where are these Byzantine models? Are they all lost or hidden among the unpublished material, or are some of them perhaps already known and only wrongly dated?

\* \* \*

One of those German manuscripts so closely dependent on a Byzantine model, as Goldschmidt has made clear, is the Saxonian Gospel Book in the Rathaus of Goslar<sup>16</sup>, a manuscript which can be dated between the years 1230 and 1240. Yet, there is another manuscript in which the Byzantine style seems to have been copied with even greater purity; this is a sketchbook in the Landesbibliothek at Wolfenbüttel, cod. 61.2. Aug. oct., which contains on twelve leaves sketches of author figures and scenes from the New Testament<sup>17</sup>. Rücker and Hahnloser, the editors

16. A. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Das Evangeliar im Rathaus zu Goslar*, Berlin, 1910.

17. F. RÜCKER AND H. R. HAHNLOSER, *Das Musterbuch von Wolfenbüttel*, in: "Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst", Vienna, 1929.



of these sketches, realized their closest connection with the Goslar Gospels and therefore ascribed them likewise to Saxonia and dated them also between 1230 and 1240. Though rightly claiming Byzantine miniatures as their immediate source, the editors apparently knew no parallels exact enough to be considered as possible models and consequently referred instead to monumental paintings, quoting the frescoes of the Protaton Church on Mount Athos and the mosaics of Monreale and San Marco in Venice as the comparatively closest parallels.

Yet, for some of the sketches at least, very precise Byzantine parallels can be



FIG. 3. — MARK. — Athens National Library, Cod. 118 folio 69 verso.

shown, as, for instance, for two seated *Evangelists* on folio 91 recto (Fig. 1), one of whom reads in an open scroll while the second holds one hand over his left knee and raises the other as if he were touching a lectern in front of him. Even in smallest details, both figures resemble two *Evangelists* of the Greek Gospel Book, cod. 118 of the National Library at Athens<sup>18</sup>. The one reading in the scroll corresponds to the *Matthew* of the Athens Gospels (Fig. 2). The beholder's eye may follow the turns and overlappings of the folds over the right shoulder and arm or those of the end of the mantle which falls down from the left arm, partly ending in a zigzag line between the legs, partly crossing the lap and forming two outward loops. Or he may compare every turn of the zigzag of the lower edges of the tunic and the mantle in order to see how close the Saxonian drawing really is to the Byzantine

miniature. The same detailed comparison can be made between the second *Evangelist* of the sketchbook and the *Mark* of the Athens Gospels (Fig. 3). It may suffice to point at such details as the system of folds on the sleeve or the tripartite arrangement of the mantle, which is draped around the waist like a sash. Even the cushion is copied faithfully, but, whereas in the Greek example it is distinguished from the mantle mainly by its colors, in the sketch it looks like a part of the mantle itself since the texture of the material is the same.

<sup>18</sup> P. BUBERL, *Die Miniaturhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen*, "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Kl." Vol. LX Abh. 2, 1917, p. 23 No. 24 and pl. XXX; A DELATTE, *Les Manuscrits à Miniatures et à Ornaments des Bibliothèques d'Athènes*, Liège, 1926, p. 2, No. 2 and pl. I.





FIG. 4. — LUKE. — Princeton University Library, Cod. Andreaskiti 753 folio 179 verso.

Furthermore, also the figure of *Luke* of the Athens Gospels — who holds an open scroll in both hands and at the same time an open codex in his lap<sup>19</sup> occurs in the sketch book on folio 78 verso<sup>20</sup>, and again each single fold of the tunic and the mantle which appears in the miniature is repeated in the sketch with an amazing exactitude. Only John, who, like Luke, holds an open scroll<sup>21</sup>, is not found among the sketches in Wolfenbüttel. This omission can have several causes. Either John has been on one of the lost pages of the sketchbook<sup>22</sup> or the model used by the draughtsman may already have been fragmentary.

From this comparison between Byzantine miniatures and Saxonian drawings, we learn two facts which are of far-reaching importance for the general understanding of

Western painting of this period as well as for the history of Byzantine book illumination. First, we realize that the connection between the two distant provinces of art is very much closer than has hitherto been assumed. Although Hahnloser in his analysis of the sketchbook goes quite far in emphasizing the close relationship between the East and the West — an attitude which resulted in some unjustified criticism from the side of more recent German scholarship which tried to limit the Byzantine influence as far as possible<sup>23</sup> — he does not go even far enough, in our opinion. In the light of the comparisons made above, Hahnloser's statement that the *ductus* of the lines in the sketches deviates from the model to some extent because

19. BUBERL, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, No. 84.

20. RÜCKER AND HAHNLOSER, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and fig. II.

21. BUBERL, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, No. 85.

22. RÜCKER AND HAHNLOSER, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

23. A. STANGE, *Beiträge zur Sächsischen Buchmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, in: "Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst", N. F. VI, 1929, p. 305, note 11a.



of the copyist's individuality and because of his German background and training is difficult to maintain. There is hardly a single line in the rather complex system of folds which cannot be traced to the evangelists of the Athens Gospels; and the notion that the Western copyist had accumulated the lines of folds in a more dense system must rather be reversed. The drapery of the evangelists of the Athens Gospels actually possesses more additional turns and overlappings of folds than the Saxonian draughtsman has copied. Nevertheless, the peculiar artistic skill of the Western artist may be seen in his capacity to transform into a pen-drawing style what the Greek miniaturist so capably expressed in a picturesque manner with colors and with an additional net of highlights. Placing the Wolfenbüttel sketches alongside the miniatures of the Athens Gospels, one may even question for a moment whether they are tracings or free hand drawings. Yet, the latter assumption seems more probable and is supported by the fact that the Saxonian artist placed different heads upon the bodies of the evangelists, heads which also reveal a Byzantine character, but do not belong to the same set of evangelist portraits as those of the Athens Gospels.

There is good reason to believe that the other figures of the Wolfenbüttel sketchbook, author portraits as well as figures from New Testament scenes, were likewise as closely copied from Byzantine models as the three evangelists just discussed. For some of them exact models may perhaps be found in the existing material of Byzantine book illumination, but for others the models have very likely perished.

The implications of the close connection between the Wolfenbüttel sketchbook and the Athens Gospels are even more important for the Byzantine than the Western history of art. It now can be taken for granted that the peculiar style represented in the miniatures of Athens 118 must have existed around the years 1230-40, i.e., the time when the sketches were made. Since it cannot be proved that Athens 118 itself was used by the Saxonian draughtsman, one cannot rely on the date around 1240 as an absolute *terminus ante quem* for the evangelists of the Athens manuscript but, nevertheless, the model of the sketchbook must have been a product of the same scriptorium and of the same period. Thus, one can hardly go astray in ascribing the Athens manuscript to the first half of the XIII century. Such a date may seem rather vague to a Western art historian, who in periods like the XIII century, where the development of style underwent quick changes, can often be quite precise within the limits of a decade. But in Byzantine art, where the material is more scarce, more dispersed and less accessible, the situation is quite different, at least in the present state of scholarship in this field. The very Athens Gospel Book is a good case with which to demonstrate the insecurity of dating. Sakkellion<sup>24</sup>, Gregory<sup>25</sup>, and Delatte date it in the XI century, while Buberl who first recognized

24. Σακελλίωνος Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1892, p. 21.

25. C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 222, No. 785.



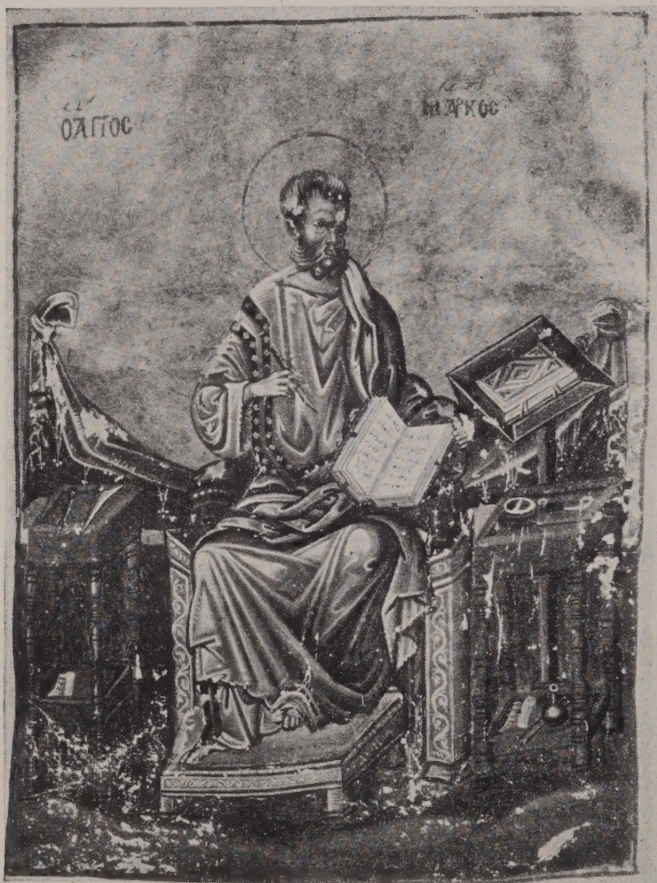


FIG. 5. — MARK. — Princeton University Library, Cod. Andreaskiti 753 folio 125 verso.

the late Byzantine elements in its style, dates it as late as the XIV century — and it is by no means exceptional for Byzantine miniatures of this style to be shifted around within the limits of four centuries.

The dating of the miniatures of Athens 118 in the first half of the XIII century requires a revision of the hitherto prevailing opinion that during the Latin conquest Byzantine book illumination had entirely stopped. Judging from this one document alone, one would have to concede that miniature painting not only did continue during this crucial period but that it maintained even a very high artistic level, showing no signs of disintegration or decadence.

Now a small, but significant detail in the Athens miniatures finds an easy explanation.

It has been noticed that the text on the scrolls in the hands of Matthew, Luke and John is written in Latin. Sakkelion and Gregory concluded from this evidence that the manuscript was made in Italy, an assumption which Buberl rightly opposed on the basis of the style. By dating the Athens miniatures in the first half of the XIII century, the Latin inscriptions can most naturally be explained by the assumption that the manuscript was either commissioned by one of the Latin conquerors or at least adjusted for a Latin customer.

\* \* \*

The Gospel Book Athens 118 is not an isolated document. There exist quite a number of Greek manuscripts which are stylistically related to it and thus can be dated in the same period and with all probability be ascribed to the same school. Those manuscripts which we can group around the Athens Gospels may be considered only as the nucleus of a XIII century school of book illumination, yet they



are already sufficient in number to show a considerable variety of figural types as well as of subject matter and a remarkable artistic quality throughout, which compels us to locate this school in Constantinople.

Most closely connected to this school is a Gospelbook with the pictures of the four evangelists which formerly was in the Athos Library of Andreaskiti as cod. 753 and was recently given to the University Library of Princeton, along with other valuable Greek, Latin and Oriental manuscripts<sup>26</sup>, by Robert Garrett of Baltimore. The picture of *Luke* (Fig. 4) is a precise replica of the *Mark* of the Athens Gospels (Fig. 3). Every fold and every highlight are practically identical. If it were not a general phenomenon that Byzantine illuminators of the same scriptorium work in such harmony with each other that often their individual style merges with that of the workshop, one might even be inclined to ascribe both manuscripts to the same painter. Of the remaining three evangelists, Matthew reads intently in a codex which he holds close to his eyes, John writes in a codex which rests on his left knee, and *Mark* — by far the most impressive figure of the codex (Fig. 5) — is represented in frontal position holding a pen and showing the open codex to the beholder. A lectern on each side and a drapery extending behind the figure from one side to the other give to this picture a strong symmetry and produce a hieratic impression. The date of the Princeton Gospels has varied between the X and XI centuries on the one side<sup>27</sup> and the XIV on the other<sup>28</sup>, until more recently Friend proposed the XIII century<sup>29</sup>, a date which

26. S. DE RICCI-W. J. WILSON, *Census of Med. and Renss. Mss. in the U.S.A. and Canada I*, 1935, p. 865, No. 2.

27. GREGORY, *op. cit.*, p. 1155, No. 1530. RICCI-WILSON, *loc. cit.*

28. B. W. CLARK, *A descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Test. Mss. in America*, 1937, p. 63. He assumed the miniatures to be later insertions in a XII-XIII century manuscript, but in our opinion there is no reason to doubt the homogeneity and contemporaneity of picture and text.

29. A. M. FRIEND in: *The Princeton University Library Chronicle III*, 1942, p. 133 and pl. (Mark).



FIG. 6. — MARK. — Mt. Athos, Iviron, Cod. 5 folio 136 verso.



now is strongly supported by the close connection of the miniatures with those of the datable Gospel Book in Athens.

Two of the Princeton evangelists are copied exactly in a Gospel Book of the Athos monastery Iviron, cod. 5<sup>30</sup>. *John*, who reads in a codex which he holds very close to his eyes<sup>31</sup>, is identical with the *Matthew* of the Princeton manuscript, and the frontally seated *Mark* is the same in both (cf. Fig. 6 with Fig. 5). These two figures of Mark correspond to such an extent that not only their contemporaneity is unquestionable, but one is once more tempted to attribute both manuscripts to the same hand. There are only small differences: the shape of the lectern and the fact that in the one instance it supports a closed codex and in the other an open one. Furthermore, in contrast to the Princeton miniatures, all evangelist pictures in Iviron have broad ornamental frames; the one around Mark is composed by the crossing of twisted ribbons turned into an all-over pattern<sup>32</sup>. But, otherwise, if one compares the two human figures, every turn or overlapping of the folds (particularly those over the lap), or the highlights and their modelling quality, the differences are more insignificant than usual between two manuscripts in Western art. Equally close is the comparison of the brush technique in the rendering of the hair or the whiskers and the facial expression.

Of the remaining two evangelists of the Iviron Gospels, the *Matthew* who reads in a wide open scroll<sup>33</sup> is a replica of the *John* of the Athens Gospels<sup>34</sup>, and thus these two manuscripts are linked together in as direct a manner as the manuscripts of Iviron and Princeton. Only the type of Luke holding a codex in his lap with one hand and touching the lectern with the other<sup>35</sup> does not occur either in the Athens or the Princeton Gospels, although he is a type familiar in X century and later manuscripts, particularly for Luke<sup>36</sup>.

The importance of the Iviron manuscript lies in the fact that in addition to the pictures of the four evangelists it contains approximately thirty illustrations from the life of Christ. These scenes, as can be seen in the example of the Anastasis (Fig. 7), are represented in the same style as the evangelists and are contemporary with them, thus proving the existence of large narrative cycles of the New Testament in the XIII century. At the same time, they are of such quality that Brockhaus considered this Gospel Book one of the most beautiful manuscripts on Athos and

30. SP. P. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Mss. on Mount Athos*, Vol. II, 1900, p. 1—A. Ξυγγοπούλος, 'Ιστορημένα Εὐαγγέλια Μονῆς Ἱδὴρων Ἀγ. Ὁρους. Athens, 1932, p. 7, and pl. 12-57 (mounted photographs).

31. ΞΥΓΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.*, pl. 43.

32. This ribbon-ornament, late antique in origin, had already in the West been stylized in a pattern, which generally is called the *double-axe motif*, several centuries before the Iviron manuscript was made; cf. R. B. O'CONNOR in "A. J. A." XXIV, 1920, p. 151-170. We leave the question open whether earlier examples in Byzantine art are lost or whether the ornament in the Iviron picture has come to the East in the XIII century under Western influence.

33. ΞΥΓΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.*, pl. 15.

34. BUBERL, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, No. 85.

35. ΞΥΓΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.* pl. 35.

36. e.g., K. WEITZMANN, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. and X. Jahrhunderts*, 1935, pl. XXXV, No. 196.



the 'pearl' of the library of Iviron<sup>37</sup>.

As in the Athens Gospels, we find also in the Iviron manuscript some Latin inscriptions. The book which John reads begins, as is usual in a passage from a lectionary, with "*In illo tempore*"; in the book upon the lectern one can read the beginning of the Gospel "*In principio erat verbum*"; and on the greatly flaked little scroll



FIG. 7. — ANASTASIS. — Mt. Athos, Iviron, Cod. 5 folio 360 recto.

lying on the desk the word "*discipulus*" is discernible. However, in contradistinction to the Athens Gospels, where all four evangelists read Latin in their books or scrolls, John is the only one in the Iviron Gospels who does so. Xyngopoulos has already pointed out<sup>38</sup> that the Latin inscriptions in the picture of John are over an erased Greek inscription. This seems to indicate that the Gospel Book was not made for, but was adjusted to, a Latin customer.

Most scholars like Brockhaus<sup>39</sup>, Wulff<sup>40</sup>, and Xyngopoulos have dated the Iviron codex in the XII century, whereas two of the best connoisseurs of Byzantine manuscripts, Pokrovsky<sup>41</sup> and Millet<sup>42</sup>, were inclined to take a XIII century origin into consideration. Only Gregory<sup>43</sup> went on record with a date as late as the XIV century.

Still closer than all the comparisons we have made thus far between miniatures of two different manuscripts is that between Iviron 5 and a Gospel Book in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, cod. gr. 54<sup>44</sup>. Not only in this instance are all four evangelists identical types and correspond exactly in their draperies and facial features, but even minor details such as the shape of the furniture, which in the Princeton manuscript presented some slight variations, are practically the same. This may again be demonstrated with the figure of *Mark* (Fig. 8). Small details,

37. BROCKHAUS, *op. cit.*, p. 186 and 217.

38. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

39. *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

40. WULFF, *op. cit.*, II, p. 535.

41. N. POKROVSKY, *The evangile in the monuments of iconography*, 1892, p. XVIII and passim.

42. G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile*, 1916, p. 9 and passim.

43. GREGORY, *op. cit.*, p. 235, No. 990.

44. H. OMONT, *op. cit.*, pl. XC-XCVI.



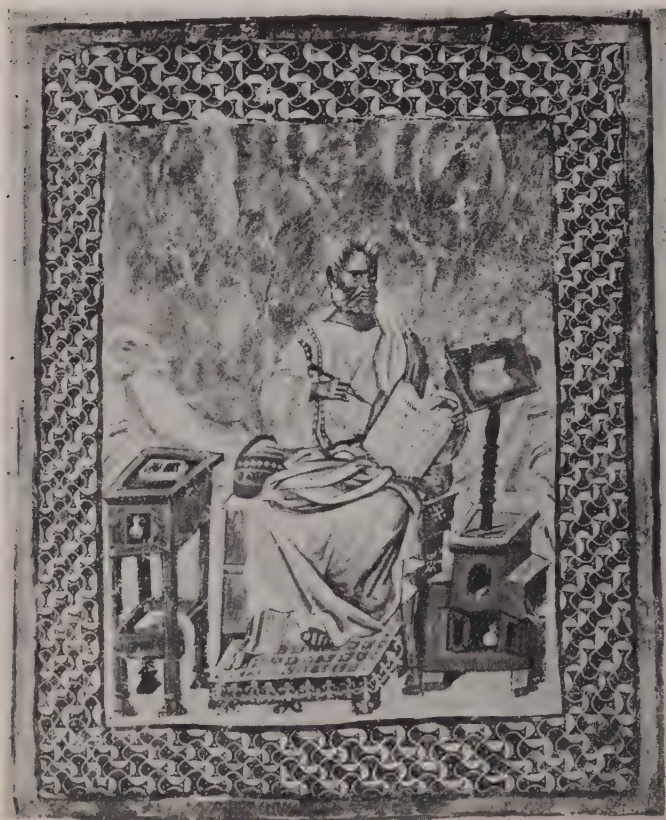


FIG. 8. — MARK. — Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Gr. 54 folio 111 recto.

the organic structure of the body is somewhat weaker. These small but noticeable differences exclude, in our opinion, the possibility that the Paris manuscript may be a later replica by the same painter who executed the Ivron codex. Also, the Paris manuscript has, like Ivron 5, an extensive cycle of New Testament scenes, some of which are unfinished while others were not even begun in the spaces provided for them. In this narrative cycle the inferiority of the illustrator of the Paris Gospels is even more apparent.

However, the Latin language, in the Paris manuscript is not confined to a few inscriptions on the rolls and codices in the hands of the evangelists; the whole Gospel text is bilingual, with the Greek column at the left and the Latin at the right<sup>45</sup>. Labarte, the first scholar to write about our manuscript<sup>46</sup>, draws from this fact the most natural conclusion that the manuscript was executed "*a l'époque de la domination des empereurs français (1204-1261)*." The Russian scholar Pokrovsky, by the same linguistic reason, proposed a South Italian

as, e.g., the placing of the ink bottles in the open compartment of both desks, or the ornament of the footstool, or the pattern of the frame—and comparisons of this kind could be made also between the remaining three evangelists—make it quite obvious that in this case one set of evangelists is a direct copy of the other, and so there is no need to assume any third manuscript as a common source or intermediary link. If this is true, we would hold that Ivron 5 is the model and Paris gr. 54 the copy. Minute as the differences are, it nevertheless can be observed that the copyist of the Paris manuscript draws the lines and folds in a slightly sharper manner and more rigidly and that his sense of

45. The Latin text, however, is not complete. Lacking is the second half of the Gospel of Mark and the whole of Luke.

46. J. LABARTE, *Histoire des Arts Industriels*, III, 1865, p. 76.



origin<sup>47</sup>, and found followers in Gerstinger<sup>48</sup>, Omont<sup>49</sup> and Tikkanen<sup>50</sup>, although none of them was able to point to any existing Italian parallel. Only Millet, taking a stand against the Italian theory<sup>51</sup>, realized the Constantinopolitan character of the New Testament cycle, and he too, like Labarte, seeks the origin of the Paris Gospels "*dans l'entourage de quelque prince croisé ou de quelque prélat latin.*" The advocates of an Italian origin dated the manuscript in the XIV century, going rather to the other extreme as compared with those scholars who had dated the contemporary Ivron manuscript in the XII century. Moreover, Bordier's<sup>52</sup> date in the end of the XIII century is quite obviously based on the notion of a vacuum during the period of the Latin occupation. Of all the manuscripts discussed above, the Paris Gospel Book indeed seems to be the latest, but at the same time its bilingual text provides a good argument for the seeking of its date still within the time-limits of the Latin empire.

All evangelist pictures described so far are quite homogeneous in style and apparently represent a restricted phase within the development of a larger artistic movement. It is a mature phase in which the artists work easily with well-established formulae in a slightly routine manner. Phases of this kind are usually preceded by a preliminary stage in which the actual characteristics of the period are on the verge of being formulated. A manuscript which, in our opinion, represents this postulated early phase is a Gospel Book in the Athos monastery Philotheu cod. 5, the decoration of which consist of three evangelists, the picture of



FIG. 9. — MARK. — Mt: Athos, Philotheu, Cod. 5.

47. POKROVSKY, *op. cit.*, p. XX and passim.

48. GERSTINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

49. OMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

50. TIKKANEN, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

51. MILLET, *Recherches*, p. 646.

52. H. BORDIER, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenues dans les Mss. Grecs de la Bibl. Nat.* 1885, p. 227.



John being lost<sup>53</sup>. Matthew, reading at close range in a codex, is the same type as *Matthew* in the Princeton Gospels and as *John* in the Ivron and Paris Gospels. *Mark*, the most impressive figure among them (Fig. 9), can be identified with the same evangelist of the three discussed manuscripts (Figs. 5, 6 and 8), while *Luke*, writing in a scroll on his lap, is a type which does not occur among the miniatures thus far mentioned. Although the system of folds in the *Mark* of the Philotheu manuscript is in principle the same as in the preceding manuscripts, the drapery as a whole is softer. Harsh breaks are avoided, and particularly over the lap the folds are less crowded and intertwined, achieving at the same time a greater plasticity in the modelling of the figure. These features go together with a more organic understanding of a well-proportioned body, in comparison to which the evangelists of all the other Gospels are stiffer and more elongated. However, it

should not be overlooked that the other two evangelists of the same manuscript<sup>54</sup> are slightly more developed in what concerns the treatment of their folds, so that the difference in the actual date between the Philotheu Gospels on the one hand, and those of Princeton, Ivron and Paris on the other, cannot be very great.

It may be recalled that also in Latin book illumination the style of the harsh and broken folds, as represented by the Wolfenbüttel sketchbook and the Goslar Gospels, was preceded by a short phase in which the painter tried to create the greatest possible plasticity of the body by means of a system of soft folds fitting closely to the body. The Ingebourg Psalter in Chantilly, cod. lat. 1695, from the beginning of the XIII century<sup>55</sup>, is the best known example of this phase. This raises the problem whether the style of the Chantilly psalter and of other French and English manuscripts

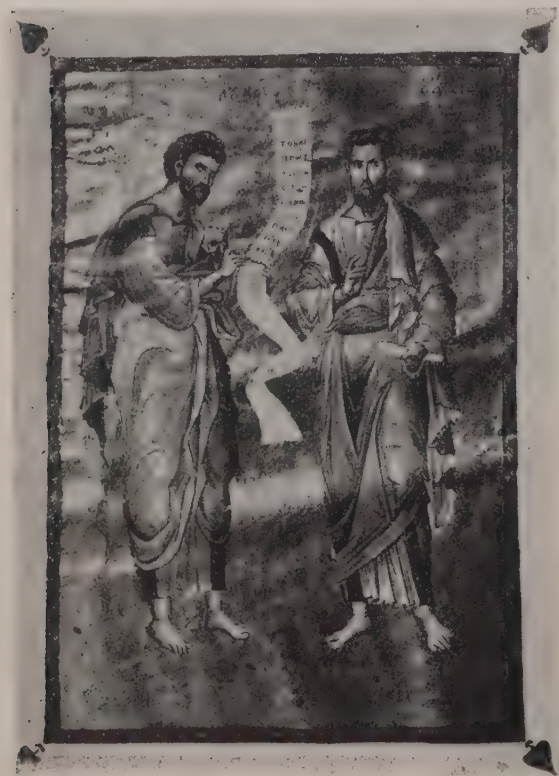


FIG. 10. — LUKE AND JAMES. — Rome, Vatican, Cod. Gr. 1208 folio 4 verso.

of the end of the XII and the first two decades of the XIII centuries is already dependent upon Byzantine models in the style of the *Mark* of Philotheu.

53. LAMBROS, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 1895, p. 151.

54. They are still unpublished. Photos in the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University.

55. J. MEURGY, *Principaux Manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly*, 1930, p. 15 and pl. X-XIII.



Another manuscript which represents what we consider to be the early phase of our school is the codex Vaticanus gr. 1208 which contains the Acts and Epistles<sup>56</sup>. It is of the highest quality and is decorated with standing author portraits. Particularly the figure of *Luke*, who writes the beginning of the Acts upon a waving scroll (Fig. 10), shows, over the hip and legs, the same soft and



FIG. 11. — Destruction of Korah. — Mt. Athos, Vatopedi, Cod. 602 folio 150 recto.

flowing kind of folds as the *Mark* in Philotheu, whereas in the figure of *James*, who stands beside *Luke*, and in the remaining four Epistle writers<sup>57</sup> the illustrator already employs a slightly harder style of folds together with an accumulation of zigzags at the edges of the garments. Furthermore, a close connection between the Philotheu and the Vatican miniatures may also be observed in the facial features, particularly the sharp line which crosses the cheek, and in the brush-technique of the hair.

The model of the Vatican manuscript was in all probability a X century manuscript of the Macedonian renaissance, similar in style to the Prophet Book in the Vatican, cod. Chis. gr. R. VIII. 54<sup>58</sup>; to such a model can be traced the high degree of plasticity and the wellunderstood organism of the body. Thus it becomes quite understandable that at a time when a stylistic grouping of Greek manuscripts had hardly begun, Beissel<sup>59</sup> dated the Vatican New Testament in the X-XI centuries and that most scholars followed him with a date in the middle-Byzantine period. Again, Alpatoff<sup>60</sup> was the first to recognize in the style of the Epistle writers those peculiar elements which are met in the Palaeologan period, although in our opinion he goes too far in the other direction by trying to date the manuscript in the XIV century.

Although we have dealt hitherto only with New Testament illustrations, other

56. Palaeographical Society, Pars IX-XIII (1879-83), pl. 131.

57. A. M. FRIEND, *The portraits of the evangelists in Greek and Latin manuscripts*, in: "Art Studies", V, 1927, p. 129 and figs. 92-94.

58. MUÑOZ, *I Codici greci miniati nelle minori biblioteche di Roma*, 1906, p. 13 and pl. 1-5. FRIEND, "Art Studies", V, figs. 41-44. WEITZMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and pl. XII, No. 61.

59. ST. BEISSEL, *Vatikanische Miniaturen*, 1893, p. 19 and pl. 12.

60. *Loc. cit.*, p. 218.





FIG. 12. — Joshua Sending Spies. — Mt. Athos, Vatopedi, Cod. 602 folio 353 verso.

cycles of miniatures in the same style are by no means lacking. One of the most extensive miniature cycles in all Byzantine book illumination is contained in the Octateuch. On the basis of stylistic criticism, one of its five existing copies can be ascribed to the same period and school as the preceding Gospel books, namely, the Octateuch in the Athos monastery Vatopedi, cod. 602,

of which today only the Books Leviticus to Ruth are preserved<sup>61</sup>. By comparing, e.g., a scene like the *Destruction of Korah* and his followers (Fig. 11) with the corresponding scene in the Octateuchs of Smyrna and Istanbul<sup>62</sup>—which represent the Constantinopolitan style of the XII century—the later date of the Vatopedi manuscript becomes quite apparent. Typical of the figure of *Moses* in Vatopedi is the increasing emphasis on the prolonged zigzag folds of the end of his mantle, and of the Israelites in front of him, the flowing quality of the drapery which adds to the restlessness of the figures. Both features were met similarly in the *Mark* of Athens and the *Luke* of Princeton (Figs. 3-4) and also in the standing authors of Vat. gr. 1208 (Fig. 10). The shape of *Moses'* head with the characteristic high tuft of hair on the top agrees in particular with the latter. In other miniatures of the Vatopedi manuscript the drapery becomes very stiffened and geometricized. This is apparent in some illustrations of the Book of Joshua, as, e.g., in the sending out of spies to the city of Ai (Fig. 12) where the mantle of the spy next to Joshua is blown up in a strikingly manneristic way. Other late features of this miniature are the affected manner in which Joshua's right hand plays with the knob of the armchair and the type of the chair itself with its high semicircular back. On the basis of a miniature like this, one might be inclined to ascribe the Vatopedi Octateuch to the advanced and mature phase of our group.

To assume a XIII century date for the Vatopedi Octateuch means once more a deviation from the opinions of most scholars who considered this manuscript to

61. KONDAKOFF, *op. cit.*, II, p. 83. BROCKHAUS, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 212. S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek mss. in the Library of the monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*, 1924, p. 118.

62. D. C. HESSELIING, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne*. Leiden, 1909, pl. 70, No. 231. TH. OUSPENSKY, *L'Octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople*, Sofia, 1907, pl. XXVII, No. 168.



be earlier than the Octateuchs in Smyrna, Istanbul and the cod. gr. 746 in the Vatican, all of which are traditionally dated in the XI or the early XII centuries. A noticeable exception, however, is Ouspensky<sup>63</sup>, the only art historian who has dated the Vatopedi codex, which he had seen and carefully studied, in the middle of the XIII century. A comparatively early date as assumed by most scholars was founded, however, not on the basis of stylistic considerations alone, but on another fact which at a first glance seems to favor an earlier origin. It had rightly been observed that the scenes from the book of Joshua are much closer to the famous Rotulus in the Vatican<sup>64</sup> than the corresponding scenes of the other Octateuchs. The spy-scene, e.g., has two personifications of cities which are in no other Octateuch, namely, the city of Jericho on the ground in the lower left corner, and the city of Ai, which had been placed on top of the city wall instead of a hill alongside of it as in the Rotulus. How can this close dependence of the Vatopedi Octateuch upon the Rotulus, on the one hand, and its late stylistic features, on the other, be reconciled with each other? The only possible solution lies, in the opinion of the writer, in the assumption that the actual Vatican roll had been directly available to the illustrator of the Vatopedi codex, enabling him to revitalize his style under its influence and to take over quite a number of details which do not appear in other copies. This

would mean that in the XIII century the Vatican Rotulus was still in the imperial library of Constantinople as one of its most highly prized treasures.

Another Old Testament manuscript which we would like to connect with our group is a tiny psalter manuscript in the Vatican Library, cod. Barber. gr. 285, which DeWald recently introduced into the historical literature of art<sup>65</sup>. It contains an inserted miniature with the fight of David and Goliath, of unique importance because of its aedicula-like frame in Pompeian style, which makes it one of the most classical pictures in all Byzantine book illumination. DeWald rightly pointed out that Goliath's armour



FIG. 13. — MARK. — Mt. Athos, Pantokratoros, Cod. 47 folio 114 verso.

63. OUSPENSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

64. *Il Rotulo di Giosuè. Codices e Vaticanis Selecti*, Vol. V, 1905.

65. E. T. DEWALD, *A fragment of a tenth-century Byzantine Psalter in the Vatican Library*. (Medieval Studies in memory of A. Kingsley Porter), 1939, Vol. I, p. 139 ff. fig. 2.



has its closest parallel in miniatures of the Vatopedi Octateuch. To this observation another may be added. The peculiar treatment of Goliath's mantle with its symmetrical zigzag edges has its parallel in the similarly stylized mantle of the spy next to Joshua in the Octateuch miniature described above (Fig. 12), save that in the latter the mantle flutters in the opposite direction. DeWald assumed for the Vatopedi Octateuch the hitherto traditional date of the XI century and — regarding the stringier style of the Octateuch as more advanced — placed the psalter miniature near to it in the second half of the X century. Now, if the Octateuch must be attributed to the XIII instead of the XI century, the psalter miniature also has to be dated in the XIII century, notwithstanding DeWald's observation that it be slightly earlier than the Octateuch.

\* \* \*

In ascribing a group of manuscripts of high artistic quality to the period of the Latin conquest and in trying to fill what hitherto had been considered a gap in the development of Constantinopolitan book illumination, the writer merely follows in the footsteps of those scholars who in the last decades have successfully filled a similar gap in the history of monumental painting. Although the XIII century frescoes and some from the end of the XII, which have been made known fairly recently, were not found in Constantinople itself but in various countries of the Balkans, primarily Serbia and Bulgaria, their style is generally and with good reason considered as a radiation of that of the capital. The milestones are the frescoes of the Panteleïmon church in Nerez<sup>66</sup> from the year 1164, of the Ascension church in Milesevo<sup>67</sup> executed between the years 1234 and 1237, and those of the Panteleïmon church in Sopocani<sup>68</sup>, datable around 1265.

It has been observed by Okunev, the discoverer of the important frescoes of Nerez, that as early as the end of the XII century the Byzantine fresco-style was revitalized in a classical manner. The three-dimensionality of the figures increased, their postures became more agile, their faces in particular showed a greater individualization, often a pathetic expression, and a greater interest in psychological effects than had been known at any previous period of Byzantine art. Thus, features which hitherto had been considered typical of the so-called Palaeologan renaissance, can now be traced back to the period of the last Comnenes. Muratoff in his "Byzantine Painting"<sup>69</sup> called this new movement *neohellenistic*. This term seems, at least to

66. N. OKUNEV, *La découverte des anciennes fresques du monastère de Nérèz*. "Slavia", VI, 1927-28, p. 603 ff. (6 pl.). P. MURATOFF, *La Peinture Byzantine*, 1928, pl. CLIII-CLVI.

67. V. R. PETKOVIĆ, *La Peinture Serbe du Moyen Age*, Vol. I, 1930, pl. 8b-12; Vol. II, p. 12 and pl. VI-XXI. N. OKUNEV, *Mileševo, un monument de l'art serbe du XIIIe siècle*, in: "Byzantinoslavica", VII, 1937-38, p. 33-107 with 26 pl. MURATOFF, *op. cit.*, pl. CLXI.

68. N. OKUNEV, *Les peintures murales à l'église de Sopocani*, in: "Byzantinoslavica", I, 1929, p. 119-150, with 22 pl. PETKOVIĆ, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pl. 13-23; Vol. II, p. 14, pl. CL. MURATOFF, *op. cit.*, pl. CLXII-CLXV.

69. MURATOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 127 ff.





FIG. 14.— MARK.— Mt. Athos, Vatopedi, Cod. 938 folio 76 verso.

scripts alike, was the climactic phase of this late renaissance.

The manuscripts grouped together in the present sketch belong to the same artistic movement as the Serbian wall paintings quoted above, and the terminology used for the description of the miniatures is essentially the same as that used by Byzantine scholars for the description of those frescoes. But, compared with the many dated frescoes, the chronology of the manuscripts is based solely on the date of the Wolfenbüttel sketchbook, which, as already mentioned, was written between 1230 and 1240. This, for the time being, is the only focal point around which the Gospel Books of Athens, Princeton, Iviron and Paris can be grouped. Not that dated Greek manuscripts were entirely lacking in this period, but, unfortunately, those known to the writer show a style which differs greatly from that of the manuscripts treated in the present study and which points to a localization outside of the capital<sup>70</sup>.

70. The Benaki-Museum in Athens, e.g., possesses a Gospel book from the year 1244 with the miniatures of Christ standing between the four evangelists and John and Prochoros (Vitr. 34, No. 4 unpublished). Although they are of considerable quality they, nevertheless, represent a local style. A Gospel book in Brescia, cod. A. III. 12 from the year 1257 with the portrait of Luke, belongs to South Italy according to MUÑOZ (*Miniature Bizantine nella Bibl. Queriniana di Brescia, Miscellanea Ceriani*, 1910, p. 172). The so-called Bixby Gospels in the Huntington Library in San Marino, Calif., with the pictures of all four evangelists, bears a date from the year 1251 but as shown by Goodspeed (*The Bixby Gospels. "Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Test."*, Ser. I, Vol. II, Pt. 4, 1915) this date is unreliable since it appears on later inserted pages.

some extent, to have originated from the realization that the older term *Palaeologan renaissance* is too limited a term, since it leaves out nearly a whole century of that movement prior to the accession to the throne of the Palaeologan dynasty. On the other hand, the term *neo-hellenistic* is, in the opinion of the writer, not distinct enough, since it does not differentiate this classical movement from the one which took place in the X century under the Macedonians and which with equally good reason might have been called *neo-hellenistic*. Until a better term is proposed, one might call this movement more generally the *late-Byzantine renaissance*, although the year 1204, which is usually considered as the beginning of the late Byzantine epoch, is likewise too late a date for the birth of the new movement. But this term includes at least the whole XIII century which, to judge from frescoes and manu-



For the end of the XII century, the situation at first glance looks more favorable, since dated manuscripts with illustrations are even more numerous than for the period of the Latin conquest. But again our hopes are frustrated, since among those manuscripts known to the writer not a single one can be claimed as a Constantinopolitan product<sup>71</sup>, perhaps with the exceptions of a psalter in the Vatican, cod. Barber. gr. 320, which bears the date 1177 A. D.<sup>72</sup> and contains seven miniatures of the so-called aristocratic recension which very well might have been executed in the capital. Unfortunately, its date is not above suspicion since it is written by a XVI century hand. In the miniatures of this psalter, as, e.g., the frontally standing David<sup>73</sup> or the Anointing of David, not the slightest trace is recognizable of an imminent classical revival. In spite of a high technical perfection, the figures are comparatively two-dimensional, somewhat rigid, and without the inner excitement which is so typical of all figures of our group. They rather represent the stage of slight stagnation characteristic of the XII century in general, a period which seems to have lived mainly from the heritage of the X and XI centuries. But, although no dated manuscript from the end of the XII century seems to be preserved which could be connected with the classical revival, it is at least probable that the miniatures of the early phase within our group, particularly the author portraits of the cod. Vat. gr. 1208 (Fig. 10), go back as far as the end of the XII century. In this connection, it may be noticed that the style of the Vatican miniatures is very close indeed to the impressive icon with the twelve apostles in the Historical Museum of Moscow<sup>74</sup> for which Muratoff proposed a date as early as the end of the XII century.

A much clearer contradistinction can be made between the miniatures of our group and those which were made after the coming of the Palaeologan dynasty to Constantinople. Dated manuscripts from the end of the XIII and throughout the XIV centuries, which represent the style of Constantinople or affiliated centers,

71. Of two Gospel books with portraits of the evangelists in Paris, cod. suppl. gr. 612 and gr. 83, the former, dated 1164 A. D. (K. AND S. LAKE, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, Vol. V, 1936, pl. 320-321), is made in a province which stylistically is not yet determined, and the other, dated 1167 A. D. and containing two extremely crude miniatures, (BORDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 179. LAKE, *op. cit.* V, pl. 322-325, 330) is executed by a certain Solomon from Noto near Syracuse. A Gospel book in the Vatican, cod. gr. 758, with pictures of John and Luke, has a date from the year 1173 A. D. which, however, is uncertain (LAKE, *op. cit.* VIII, 1937, pl. 588 and 590). A Gospel book in London, cod. add. 22736 with an uncontestable date of the year 1179 (LAKE, *op. cit.* II, 1934, pl. 144-146) possesses four evangelists in a style not unlike that of products from South-Italian schools. Another Gospel book in London, cod. add. 5111-5112 (TIKKANEN, *Farbengebung*, p. 184 note) possesses evangelist pictures of a remarkable quality which may be products of a Constantinopolitan scriptorium itself or a center nearby, but, unfortunately, they do not belong to the text which is dated 1189 A. D. Of three dated Gospel books of the last decade of the 12th century, the cod. Vindob. suppl. gr. 102, now in Naples, from the year 1192 A. D. (LAKE, *op. cit.* IX, 1938, pl. 668) and the cod. Vatic. Barber. gr. 520 from the year 1193 (LAKE, *op. cit.*, VIII, 1937, pl. 596-599) are both undoubtedly of South Italian origin, and the third in Moscow, cod. gr. 16, from the year 1199 (LAKE, *op. cit.* VI, 1936, pl. 419) shows two pen-drawings of the half figure of the Virgin with child which may have been made at any time after the finishing of the manuscript.

72. KONDAKOFF, *op. cit.* II, p. 53. J. J. TIKKANEN, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, "Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae", XXXI, 1903, p. 128, fig. 109, 128. K. AND S. LAKE, *op. cit.* VIII, 1937, pl. 593.

73. A. VENTURI, *Storia dell'arte* II, 1902, p. 442 and fig. 314.

74. MURATOFF, *op. cit.*, pl. CLXXII. O. WULFF AND M. ALPATOFF, *Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei*, 1925, p. 114, 270, and fig. 43.



are fairly numerous, and their miniatures show, as may be judged from two dated examples from the turn of the XIII to the XIV centuries, a much more advanced stage of development compared with any miniature seen so far. The one is a Gospel Book with the portraits of the four evangelists in the Athos monastery Pantokratoros, cod. 47, which was written in the year 1301 by a Theodoros Hagiopetrites<sup>75</sup>. In the figure of *Mark*, who is sharpening his pen (Fig. 13), the feeling for the organic structure of the body is considerably weakened. The sloping shoulders are typical, as is the increase in the width around the waist, which gives to most figures of the Palaeologan period a curious oval-shaped outline. The drapery is no longer as closely attached to the body, but tends to obscure the clarity of the bodily structure by means of a decorative system of accumulated, crumpled folds and a dense pattern of diffused highlights. At the same time, this treatment of the drapery increases the feeling of restlessness which is also reflected in the tense and nervous faces. The highlights on the flesh have a function similar to those on the drapery, namely, to dissolve plastic values by a more picturesque technique; the same applies to the treatment of the hair and the beard. Moreover, the low bench, which does its share to make the figure disproportionate by prolonging the upper part of the body, is typical of the Palaeologan period. The furniture is highlighted by golden, comb-like patterns and the architecture becomes likewise more decorative and less structural. The rectangular niches and the houses turned into aediculae are characteristic. It is true that the picturesque elements which contribute to the dissolution of organism and structure are not always so pronounced as in the evangelist portraits of the Pantokratoros Gospels. In another Gospel Book from Mount Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 938, which is written in the year 1304 and possesses the pictures of all four evangelists<sup>76</sup>, the brush technique is smoother and more in the tradition of the XIII century. But at the same time other characteristics of the Palaeologan style are even more exaggerated. *Mark* (Fig. 14), who holds a codex in his lap while writing in another book on the lectern, sits on an even lower bench than in the Pantokratoros miniature, and thus the unnatural prolongation of the upper part of the body becomes far more apparent.

Judging from these two examples — which could easily be multiplied not only by more dated manuscripts but also by frescoes and mosaics like those of the Kahrieh Djami — it becomes clear that at the beginning of the XIV century the phase of the closest contact with the models which had stimulated the new classical movement has already passed.

It must be left to future studies to determine the sources of the late Byzantine renaissance. At the present, it may suffice to mention that the stylistic revival goes

75. BROCKHAUS, *op. cit.*, p. 235. LAMBROS, *Catalogue, op. cit.*, I, p. 97. M. VOGEL AND V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die Griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 1909, p. 135-6. The name Hagiopetrites points, according to LAMBROS and others, to the Athos monastery τῆς Πέτρας.

76. BROCKHAUS, *op. cit.*, p. 235 (here quoted with the old number 714). S. EUSTRATIUS AND ARCADIOS, *Catalogue op. cit.* p. 173.



hand in hand with the reappearance of older iconographical types. This can clearly be shown in the realm of the pictures of the evangelists, which constitute by far the largest contingent in all phases of Byzantine book illumination of which monuments are preserved. Of the *Matthew* of the Athens Gospels, e.g., who reads in an open scroll in the fashion of the ancients, instead of writing his Gospels (Fig. 2), no parallel is known to the writer from the immediately preceding centuries. However, it does not seem very probable that the late Byzantine period, except in special cases, had immediate access to early Byzantine miniatures. The main direct source seems to have been products of the Macedonian renaissance. Gospel Books like Stauro-nikita 43, or Paris Coislin 195, or Prophet Books like Vatican Chis. gr. R. VIII, 54, and Turin B. I. 2<sup>77</sup>—to enumerate only those manuscripts of the X century, the date of which seems uncontested—contain all those stylistic elements which stimulated the new classical movement of the end of the XII and the XIII centuries. The general cultural situation in Constantinople at the end of the XII century, a time when classical studies had risen to new heights with scholars like Johannes Tzetzes and Eustathios, provided a fertile ground on which an artistic renaissance could develop.

The influence of the renaissance was felt throughout the XIV and even the XV century until the fall of Constantinople. It was the last of the several classical movements which at certain intervals from the IV century on had revitalized the art of the Eastern capital.

KURT WEITZMANN.



77. WEITZMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 23 and pl. XXX-XXXI; p. 11 and pl. XI No. 57-58, pl. XII No. 59-60; p. 12 and pl. XII No. 61; p. 28 and pl. XXXVII No. 208, pl. XXXVIII No. 210.





# SKETCHES FOR AN *ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN* BY FRA BARTOLOMMEO

THERE has recently passed from a private collection in Massachusetts a hitherto unpublished drawing by Fra Bartolommeo (Figs. 3 and 4), the *recto* of which is a composition sketch for an *Assumption of the Virgin*; the *verso* contains four enigmatic figures, of which more will be said below. The dimensions are 230 x 165 mm., or about 9 x 6½ in.; the watermark is a six-pointed star in a circle, close to Briquet's series 6077-6081.

Several writers have assumed the probability of a plan in Fra Bartolommeo's mind for an *Assumption* and an *Ascension* as pendants. The rising Virgin and the sarcophagus common to representations of the *Assumption* are lacking in this drawing; but in an *Ascension* all the figures look up; here two or three are looking down as if into an empty tomb; from this and the absence of any figure on the ground

obviously representing the Virgin we may safely take it that this is an *Assumption*. There is a rather polished and complete composition drawing for an *Ascension* in the Uffizi<sup>1</sup>, dated by Gabelentz<sup>2</sup> about 1505-6 (Fig. 1).

Fra Bartolommeo did not stray so far from his beginnings in his drawing as in his painting, and in his pen compositions he strayed less far than in his chalk studies. In the present drawing we have many reminiscences of the quattrocento in the proportions of the figures, the rather Gothic draperies, and the character of the pen line, though the latter is more brusque than in the artist's earliest and pearliest representa-



FIG. 1. — FRA BARTOLOMMEO. — Drawing for an *Ascension*. — Uffizi, Florence.



FIG. 2. — FRA BARTOLOMMEO. — Drawing for an *Assumption*. — Uffizi, Florence.

tions of the Madonna. We can see the familiar influences of Piero di Cosimo (*e.g.*, such a drawing as Berenson 1852, fig. 411) and Ghirlandaio (*e.g.*, Berenson 872, fig. 299), as well as some resemblance to Perugino.

If we compare our drawing to some early work of the artist, we find considerable correspondences: the articulations, for instance, in such a drawing as the Chantilly *St. Michael* (for the *Last Judgment* of 1498-9)<sup>3</sup>, are very like. An Uffizi study for a *Samaritan Woman*<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 6) has the same sort of broken flutter. If on the other hand we compare a slightly later drawing, such as the Raphaelesque composition of nudes in the Uffizi (for the unfinished *Virgin and*

1. No. 289 in: BERNARD BERENSON, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*; amplified edition; 3 vols.; Chicago, 1938.

2. HANS VON DER GABELENTZ, *Fra Bartolommeo und die Florentiner Renaissance*; 2 vols.; Leipzig, 1922.

3. BERENSON 217.

4. BERENSON 276, GABELENTZ II, fig. 22.





FIG. 3. — FRA BARTOLOMMEO. — Sketches for an *Assumption of the Virgin* (recto). — Collection of Mrs. A., Ohio.



FIG. 4. — FRA BARTOLOMMEO. — Studies perhaps for an *Expulsion from Paradise* (verso).  
— Collection of Mrs. A., Ohio.

*Child with St. Anne* of 1512)<sup>5</sup>, we find notable differences: the contours of the later work are freer from interruption, and the glitter produced by fine cross-hatching has almost disappeared. Or consider another Uffizi drawing, the sketch<sup>6</sup> for the *Lucca Madonna of Mercy* of 1515: like many made after the master's trip to Venice, it has echoes of Titian's or (as Berenson remarks) Tintoretto's draftmanship.

The drawing here discussed seems to "mesh" with the lyrical Uffizi composition for an *Assumption*<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 2) which is plainly connected with the painting (presumably of 1508) in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. The Uffizi sheet concentrates on the Virgin's figure and on the ring of angels below. In ours, the Virgin has not been drawn in;

the space has been filled with additional schemes for angels and kneeling apostles, and the accent falls on the group around the empty tomb. The tomb group of the Berlin picture has no real resemblance to that of the present drawing; the connection is *via* the Uffizi composition. One interesting development is that the ring of angels, seen in our sketch as from the level of their feet, is seen in the Uffizi sheet as from a different point of view, and in tilted

5. BERENSON 280, fig. 443.

6. BERENSON 254, GABELENTZ II, fig. 57.

7. BERENSON 244, reproduced in: OLSCHKI, ed., *I Disegni della Regia Galleria degli Uffizi in Firenze*; Florence, 1912-1921; II, ii, pl. 11. Also reproduced in: HEINRICH LEPORINI, *Stilentwicklung der Handzeichnung*, Vienna, 1925, pl. 126.



perspective<sup>8</sup>. A chalk study in the Louvre<sup>9</sup> for the Virgin of the Berlin painting seems to be the only other one among the drawings for this subject that can be connected with the painting, the rest being for the Naples *Assumption* (according to Gabelentz) or else "wasted" (Fra Bartolommeo, like many prolific artists, "wasted" great numbers of drawings, and of course many were used by his followers in the San Marco workshop and elsewhere). The two standing figures at the lower right in our drawing appear with variations in a Munich drawing at larger scale<sup>10</sup>.

The *verso* is rather a puzzle as to intent, though the *mise-en-page* is successful. The angel, whose charming calligraphic draperies are most characteristic, could be blowing a trumpet (the single line extending down to the right would help to confirm this)<sup>11</sup>; or playing a fiddle which is out of sight behind the far shoulder; or preparing to strike with a sword, likewise out of sight. A connection with the



FIG. 6. — FRA BARTOLOMMEO. — Study for a Samaritan Woman. — Uffizi, Florence.



FIG. 5. — FRA BARTOLOMMEO. — Sketches. — Louvre, Paris.

8. Most writers on Fra Bartolommeo have called attention to the Botticellian quality of these angels and those of another Uffizi drawing (BERENSON 279, fig. 436) which was apparently never used. I believe it was WALTER CRANE (in *The Bases of Design*, and *Line and Form*, London, 1900, p. 272) who first remarked the pattern-like character of Botticelli's dancing angels. The shift to a higher point of view from early to late studies of the same subject has many parallels.

9. BERENSON 483; reproduced in FRITZ KNAPP, *Fra Bartolommeo della Porta und die Schule von San Marco*; Halle, 1903; fig. 36.

10. BERENSON 452, GABELENTZ II, fig. 4; early.

11. Cf. the *Trumpeting angel*, BERENSON 445, KNAPP, fig. 7, and the similarly-posed one by Albertinelli, BERENSON 14 *verso*, KNAPP, fig. 8.

*Last Judgment* is possible: the two fleeing figures suggest this. A very early drawing in the Louvre<sup>12</sup> contains a curious running personage with the significant addition of a skeleton arm (Fig. 5); the *verso* includes a skeleton; and the *verso* of the Chantilly *St. Michael* also has a running figure. The wing-like extension from the left shoulder of the upper right-hand man in our drawing suggests a study of the shoulder-blade. The Uffizi *Samaritan Woman* already mentioned (Fig. 6) contains another fleeing figure. Further examples could be added.

If the angel here is "winding up" to deliver a blow with the sword, this attitude and the running men would indicate not so much a *Last Judgment* as an *Expulsion from Paradise*, as Agnes Mongan has remarked. An Austrian collection (Stoss-mayer, at Agram) once contained an *Expulsion* painting, given by Gabelentz to Albertinelli; but I can find no reproduction. In what can still be seen of the ruinous *Last Judgment*, only the man who tears at his mouth with both hands<sup>13</sup> shows anything like violent motion; our two running men perhaps therefore belong rather to an *Expulsion*. The damned in a *Judgment* usually have not so much space to move in.

The headless standing figure at lower right seems ill-drawn and intrusive, though it is not necessarily by a strange hand. Its attitude reverses that of a nude in the lower right of the *Last Judgment* fresco; but this attitude is fairly common with Fra Bartolommeo. This and the lower left figure remind one a little of the nudes in the background of the Ferry Carondelet altarpiece at Besançon; it is worth mentioning that a British Museum drawing<sup>14</sup>, presumably for those nudes, is not above suspicion of being by another hand.

The contrast in style and scale between *recto* and *verso* is interesting. The *Assumption* sketch is about as rough and summary as any in the master's works; assuming a real connection with the Uffizi composition drawing and the Berlin painting, the present sheet would be an early stage, earlier than the Uffizi one; and it would date certainly before 1508 and probably, as its general appearance indicates, about 1505. The figures on the *verso* are more like separate studies than a coherent sketch—hence their more fully developed construction. They are surely no later than the *recto*, and they may be earlier, especially if they have to do with the *Last Judgment*. We must always be in the dark concerning the four cloistered years in which Fra Bartolommeo took no painting-commissions, though one may well believe with Gabelentz that he made many drawings during that time.

WINSLOW AMES.

12. BERENSON 476 *recto*, KNAPP fig. 19.

13. Chalk study in the Ambrosiana, BERENSON 439 A; the figures in the lower part of the fresco were executed by Albertinelli.

14. BERENSON 424 C; reproduced in the catalogue of the Heseltine sale of 1913, No. 9.



# ROSLIN AND WERTMULLER

## SOME UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

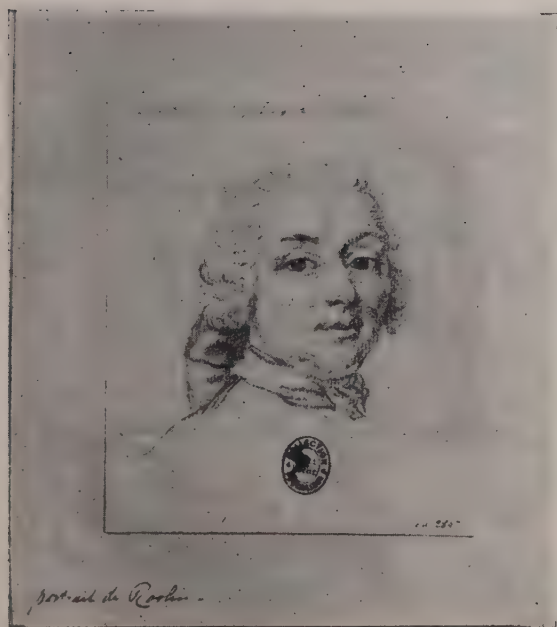


FIG. 1. — ALEXANDER ROSLIN. — Self-portrait. — Carnavalet Museum, Paris. Courtesy Frick Art Reference Library.

It is to my friend Gunnar Lundberg, biographer of the painter Alexander Roslin, who signed his portraits as “Le Suedois”, that the honor of presenting the following documents should have belonged. But *tempus fugit*, and having discovered the documents in the United States, the task of presenting them to the readers of the “Gazette” devolves upon me.

The three letters written and signed by Roslin are dated from the years 1779 to 1789. Roslin had then just finished his tour of *l'Europe française*; he had returned to Paris and there expected to re-enter his former position. The Prince de Ligne, coming back from America several years later, made a description of the *douceur de vivre Parisienne*. But for Roslin, alone and lonesome in his studio

at the Louvre after the death of his wife, life was bitter. He learned to his cost that quitting a place for a long time was almost like dying. At the Salon of 1781 his work passed unobserved. Nevertheless the advices which, at the end of the most flourishing and successful period of his life, he gives in his letters to his cousin Wertmuller are those of an honest and worthy man, in no way embittered.

Adolphe Ulrich Wertmuller, to whom these letters are addressed, was born in Stockholm. Wille, in his *Journal*<sup>1</sup>, says that Wertmuller was a descendant of a well-known family of Zurich and a nephew of Roslin. Actually he was a cousin, Roslin's mother having been born a Catherine Wertmuller. It was through an

1. *Mémoires et Journal de Jean Georges Wille*, published by GEORGES DUPLESSIS, with a preface by EDMOND and JULES DE GONCOURT, Paris, 1857.

innocent enough deceit that Roslin presented him in Paris as his nephew, for the purpose of greater profit to the young artist. In a letter dated June 17, 1780, Pierre, first painter to the king, wrote to M. d'Angiviller, Directeur des Bâtiments du Roi: *En revenant de Versailles, je me suis souvenu que M. Roslin a un neveu qui fait du bruit. Il a séjourné en Italie, il est retenu à Lyon depuis quatre mois; si tout le bien qu'on en dit se confirme dès qu'il sera ici, voici de quoi remplir vos vues.*"<sup>2</sup> We do not know what were the views of the Directeur des Bâtiments on the artist who at that time was twenty-nine years old. Our letter (Fig. 7) proves that Wertmuller was still in Rome in 1779 and had not left in 1777 as has often been stated. His sojourn at Lyon must have been shorter than generally believed, since one traces him to Paris after 1780. At Lyon he must have met his compatriot P. Cogell, a *peintre ordinaire* of that city established there since 1764.

Coming to Paris, Wertmuller was received at the Academy on August 30, 1783. Provisionally he took the studio of David at the Louvre, during David's brief journey to Rome. Then, in 1788, Wertmuller left the capital and sublet his studio to the Viennese portrait painter Ludwig Guttenbrun, who paid the rent every quarter into the hands of Roslin (see letter II). We rediscover Wertmuller at Bordeaux ("at the agent, M. Windisch's"). Joseph Alexander, Roslin's son who had been a pupil of Suvée but later renounced his brush in favor of a commercial career, was also at Bordeaux during the same time (see letter Fig. 5).

In 1794 Wertmuller went to Philadelphia, and later returned to France; in November 1796 he was in Nantes, where a member of the Roslin family wrote him (see letter IV). After a visit to Sweden he departed once more for Philadelphia and died at Marcus Hook, in Delaware, in the year 1811.

Philippe de Chenevière, in a study devoted to Wertmuller<sup>3</sup>, remarked sadly but without penetrating the reasons for this exodus of European artists to North and South America: *"Deux patries ne valaient plus rien aux artistes, il est vrai. Mais à quoi bon l'Amérique? Et quelle triste fin pour un peintre mourir noyé dans cette indifférence et Dieu sait où?"*<sup>4</sup>

Remnants of Wertmuller's atelier may still exist somewhere in the United States. The letters addressed to him which we publish here and which are in our possession provide such evidence as to make this assumption. With a bit of luck one might someday lay hands on more letters or documents to complete the rich Wertmuller material which is kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm.

MICHEL N. BENISOVICH.

2. Cited by P. LESPINASSE, *Les artistes Suédois en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris, 1929. ("On my way back from Versailles, I recalled that Mr. Roslin has a nephew about whom there is much talk. He stayed in Italy and has been in Lyon for four months; if all the praise he enjoys proves justified when he comes here, it will be something to fill your plans.")

3. In: "La Revue Universelle des Arts", 1856.

4. "Two homelands are no longer worth anything to artists, it is true. But what good is America? And what a sad end for a painter to die drowned in that indifference and God knows where."



## I

To Monsieur  
Monsieur Wertmuller,  
Painter,  
at the Academy of France, in Rome  
At Paris, this Feb. 22, 1779.

Sir and dear Cousin,

Four days ago I received the letter which you had the kindness to write me on the 28th of last month with the enclosed one for Madame Coustou<sup>5</sup>, which I gave her the same day. She begged me to express her thanks to you until she can do so herself when you return. When you leave for Naples, my dear Cousin, write me whether you have received news of your dear parents and whether your good Father has sent you the money you expect, so that I shall have time to answer you before you leave Rome definitely. You will do well to economize your money as much as possible so that you lack nothing during the journey, but you must have stockings, shirts and a decent suit when you arrive at Lyon, and if you have not enough money to get these, write me and I shall advance you five or six hundred livres for this purpose; for if you wish to have any success in that city you must not look like a beggar, you must have assurance in yourself and try to overcome your too great timidity and put yourself at ease. If not, it will be impossible to become a Portrait Painter, for talent is not always sufficient, you must know how to get along with everybody and to retain your position without giving rise to accusations of charlatanism [directed at us, painters]. If you succeed, my dear Cousin, in doing several Heads which people would like, let the friends whom I shall direct you to in Lyon set the prices. At the beginning, it is necessary to build up a reputation, working cheaply and sometimes for nothing, until we are known and can request what we deserve. Always provide yourself with a little supply of ground colors and a pair of canvases, for one must always be prepared for painting if an occasion arises, as often one finds an occasion when one least thinks of it and may repent not to have been able to profit by it. As to the rest [I will write] the next time. Mr.



FIG. 2. — ADOLPH ULRIC WERTMULLER. — Self-portrait. — Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Pa.

5. Madame Coustou was the wife of the architect Charles-Pierre Coustou, Inspecteur des Bâtiments du Roi and brother of Guillaume II Coustou, the sculptor; her name was Catherine-Madeleine-Ursule Cochois. Charles Pierre Coustou signed as witness to the marriage of the painter Alexandre Roslin, on January 8, 1759.

*Sergell<sup>6</sup> was accepted at the Academy three weeks ago, better than he had expected, and I do not doubt that he realized that, without me, he could well have failed to succeed there, despite the talent which is recognized in him. He has just made a trip to England from where he plans to return towards the end of March, to go back from here to Sweden; thus you will no longer find him here on your return. Will you transmit the enclosed note from Madame Coustou to her dear brother<sup>7</sup> giving him a thousand greetings on my behalf, and oblige me further in extending my humble respects to Madame Vien as well as a thousand tender regards to your*

*Worthy and Generous Master, Monsieur Vien, and his dear children.*

*Adieu, my dear friend, keep well and accept a thousand greetings from my children, relatives and friends as well as the assurance of the unbounded attachment with which I am for life your affectionate friend*



FIG. 3. — ALEXANDER ROSLIN. — Self-portrait. — Uffizi, Florence. Courtesy Frick Art Reference Library.

by G. Goethe, he wrote: "*A l'Académie de Londres on n'admet point d'Etrangers, à moins de s'y fixer. Cela vient de ce que les intérêts de cette ditte Académie calculent ses intérêts propres croyant dans le commencement que l'Etranger l'emporteroit sur les Artistes Nationaux. A toutes les dites Académies des Beaux-Arts on y est reçu pour une certaine somme médiocre*". Further on he says: "*A Paris seule Académie qui merite dans les Arts d'en être membre*."

7. Madame Coustou was born Cochois. An architect named Etienne-Nicolas Cochois was a pensionnaire of the Academy of France in Rome. On January 26, 1763, Natoire, Director of the Academy of France in Rome wrote to M. de Marigny asking for permission that Cochois be allowed to send letters in de Marigny's folder. Madame Coustou profited by this same permission in placing her letters to her brother in the folder of Roslin.

6. The Swedish sculptor Sergell was received at the Royal Academy of Paris on January 30, 1779. In a letter published by PH. DE CHENNEVIERES in: "*La Revue Universelle des Arts*", I, 1856, and addressed to J. E. Rehn, Intendant des Bâtiments de la Couronne de Suède, January 31, 1779, Sergell wrote the following: "*Vous permettez de vous annoncer mon agrément à l'Académie qui a été fait hier au soir avec le plus grand honneur pour moi. M. Roslin par les plus grandes obligations m'a assuré qu'on ne m'a pas fait grâce et qu'il y a eu des discussions vives à mon avantage vu la différence du stiel à la manière de l'Ecole française*." On March 29 of the same year he undertook a short trip to London. "*Etant si près je voulais voir le pais et une ville dont tout le monde parle avec remarque*." In England, Lord Talbot, who had bought his *Diomède* during a trip to Rome, was his patron. Perhaps Sergell had designs on the Royal Academy because in his short autobiography written in French and published



and relative

## ROS LIN<sup>8</sup>

### 8. A Monsieur

Monsieur WERTMULLER,  
Peintre.  
a l'academie de France

■

### ROME.

a Paris, ce 22 Fev. 1779

Monsieur et cher Cousin

J'ai reçu il y a quatre jours la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'amitié de m'écrire le 28 du mois dernier avec l'incluse pour Madame Coustou que je lui ai remis le même jour. Elle me charge de vous en faire les remerciements en attendant qu'Elle puisse les faire de vive voix a votre retour. Lorsque vous partiroy mon cher Cousin pour Naples écrivés moi si vous avés reçu des nouvelles de vos chers parents et si votre bon Pere vous a envoyé l'argent que vous attendés, afin que j'aye le tems de vous repondre avant que vous quittiés Rome tout a fait. Vous faites bien de menager votre argent le plus possible afin qu'il ne vous manque point pendant la route, mais il faut avoir des bas, chemises et un habit propre lorsque vous arriverois a Lyon, et si vous n'avés pas assés pour en avoir écrivés moi et je vous avancerai cinq ou six cents livres pour cet effet car si vous voulés faire quelque choses dans cette ville il ne faut pas avoir l'aire d'un mendant, il faut de l'assurance et tacher de vaincre votre trop grande timidité et vous mettre a votre aise. Sans cela il n'y aura pas moyen de faire le

Peintre de Portrait car il ne suffit pas toujours d'avoir du talent il fault scavoir vivre avec tout le monde et tenir sa place sans donner lieu de nous accuser de charlatanisme. Si vous reussissés mon cher Cousin a faire quelques Têtes qui plaisent laissés aux amis que je vous donnerés a Lyon a y mettre les Prix. Il faut au commencement faire votre reputation en faisant a bon marché et quelques fois pour rien jusqu'a ce que nous soyons connus et pourrons exiger ce que nous meritons. Munissés vous toujours avec une petite provision de couleurs broyées et un couple des Toiles car il faut toujours etre préparé a pouvoir peindre si l'occasion se presante car souvent on trouve un occasion lorsqu'on y pense le moins et qu'on se repentiroit de ne l'avoir pu en profiter. Le reste la premiere fois. Mr Sergell<sup>9</sup> fut agréé a l'Accademie il y a trois semaines mieux qu'il ne s'y attendoit et je ne doute pas qu'il ne s'y est aperçu, que sans moi il auroit bien pu manquer d'y reussir, malgré le talent qu'on lui accorde il vient de faire un voyage en Angleterre d'ou il se propose revenir vers la fin de mars pour s'en retourner d'ici en Suede ainsi vous ne le trouverés plus ici a votre retour. Remettés le billet cijoint de Madame Coustou a son cher Frere<sup>7</sup> en lui faisant mil amitiés de ma part Obligés encor de faire agréer mes tres humbles respects a Madame Vien ainsi que mil tendres amitiés a votre Digne et Genereux Maître Monsieur Vien et ses chers Enfants.

Adieu mon cher ami portés vous bien et recevés mil amitiés de mes Enfants, Parents et Amis en meme que l'assurance de l'attachement sans borne avec lesquels je suis pour la vie votre affectionné ami et Parent

ROS LIN



FIG. 4. — ALEXANDER ROSLIN. — Portrait of the Artist's Eldest Daughter. — Louvre, Paris. (M. M. A. Photo)

## II

To Monsieur  
Monsieur Wertmuller,  
First Painter to the King of  
Sweden,  
of the Royal Academy of Paint-  
ing and Sculpture of Paris  
c/o Mr. Windisch at Bordeaux  
agent  
1789

received Feb. 12

answered Feb. 24

at Paris this Feb. 4, 1789.

My very dear Cousin,

I received some time ago the undated letter which you had the kindness to write me assumedly at the beginning of last month. I thank you most sincerely for the wishes you express in it for my prosperity as well as for that of my children, and I beg you to accept in return from me and from all of us the wishes we make for you to keep well and spend your time usefully during your absence. I have been delighted to learn through my son that you have found the occasion of keeping yourself busy, and by all appearances, advantageously, for several months, which will not prevent you from following my project to go further when you have exhausted the opportunities to be drawn from the place you are living in now. For we must make money while we are young and well in order to scrape together something to live on when age and infirmities afflict us and deprive us of the means of making more.<sup>9</sup>

I received 300 livres from Mr. Guttenbrun<sup>10</sup> for his October quarter due on January 1 of the current year. His servant asked me for a small ecu [piece of money]

9. Roslin was seventy years old when, feeling himself abandoned and almost forgotten, he wrote these melancholic lines. His health was broken and from 1787 on the Academy sent delegation after delegation, led by his friend Vien, to get news of his health and express hopes in his recovery. He was to live only four years more. Of the financial resources of the old painter one finds decided indications in a letter of Pierre to d'Angevillers, dated December 25, 1781, cited by P. LESPINASSE (op. cit.) "M. Roslin espère beaucoup de votre bonté, la crise dans laquelle il se trouve l'occupe d'une façon très embarrassante."

10. Ludwig Guttenbrun, Viennese portrait painter, who travelled in Italy and in Russia. The article by KURZWEILY in: THIEME-BECKER *Künstler-Lexikon* mentions a journey to London but not to Paris, where commissions for Marie-Antoinette must nevertheless have attracted him.

a Paris le 4<sup>th</sup> 1789

mon très cher Cousin

je viens de recevoir j'y a deux jours la chère lettre du 29 du mois passé. Son contenu est de nature à ne pouvoir me reposer que dans la quinzaine après avoir pris les informations nécessaires. voyez en attendant ou vous entretenait avec Windisch de savoir dans combien de temps il en aura besoin pour former l'association. car si par me déterminer après toutes les procédures mis en usage je ne pourrais tout au plus y mettre deux le coûtant de dix premiers de l'année prochaines que cinquante mil écus. Pour moi. Je l'ai vu de son côté d'avantage je serais obligé d'y renoncer. vous garderiez cette description pour vous mon cher ami et vous ne feriez que l'oublier les intentions de cet Windisch en attendant que je puisse répondre la perspective affirmative m'embarrasse je ne pourrais pas qu'après avoir reçu votre réponse sur la proposition que vous me faites le plus promptement que possible la pense. m'le compte d'angevillers est beaucoup plus bas de 200 millions et n'est absent que par l'usage de trois mois. vous pourriez beaucoup compter que je ne pourrais jamais de vous aucun occasion ou je pourrais

FIG. 5. — Reduced Fac-Simile of Roslin's letter to Wertmuller of September 4, 1789.



for the porter, but since you did not tell me that I should pay him I answered him that I could not give it to him until you authorize me to do so; thus I await your reply.

received ..... 300 ls. [livres]

expenses ..... 170

plus ..... 3 last October for the porter

and ..... 3 for the book of the Academy

remainder 176

124 ls. belonging to you, which I keep.

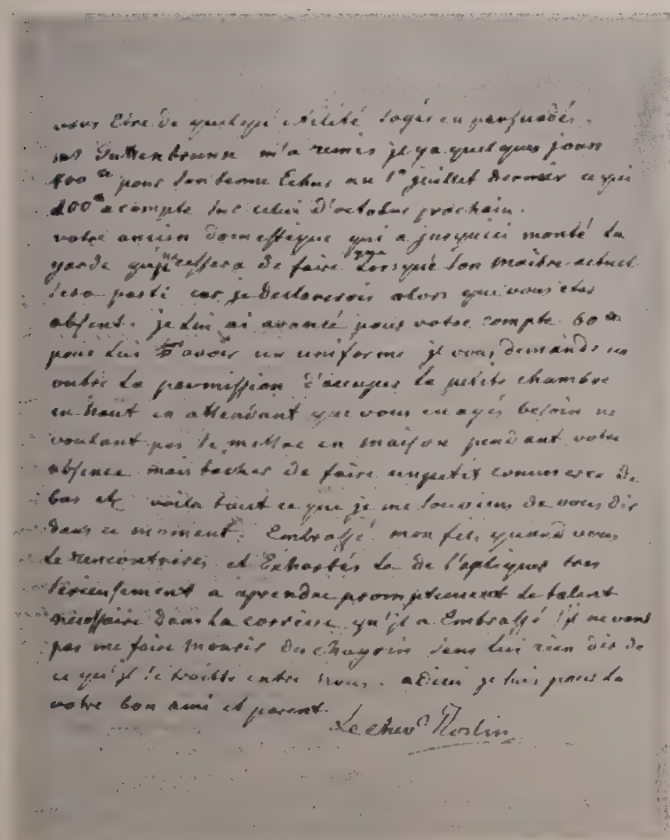


FIG. 6. — Reduced Fac-Simile of Roslin's letter to Wertmuller of September 4, 1789.

pitied. My children do not leave them, and, along with the rest of their friends, we take great pains to moderate and calm their justifiable sorrow<sup>12</sup>.

11. This refers to the second daughter of Roslin, Alexandrine-Elizabeth, married to Claude-Francois Martineau in 1786. Her father painted her before a mirror with her future husband and a little boy (a picture formerly in the Jules Porgès Paris collection and which later passed to Sweden; see: O. FIZIÈRE, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", 1898, ill.; also reproduced in: O. LEVERTIN, *A. Roslin*, Stockholm, 1901.)

12. The Roslins were among the intimate friends of the Vien household. JAL, in his *Dictionary*, is mistaken

Madame Martineau is well, thank goodness, after her confinement<sup>11</sup>. She gave me a beautiful grand-daughter on the first day of the year at seven o'clock in the morning as a New Year's gift. Our poor friends M. and Mme. Vien are deeply grieved over the loss of their son Rosny, who gave so much promise of becoming one of the most able architects of this century, had he lived. His poor mother has known of his death for only eight days, as we were not able to inform her sooner because of the sore eyes with which she has been afflicted during her convalescence. We told (her) he died of inflammation of the lungs so that she will not reproach herself wrongly for having innocently enough given him smallpox. Those unfortunate people are in deepest sorrow and are much to be

*Accept, my dear cousin, many a greeting from my dear children and my sons-in-law, from the Paulmier's as well as from all of our acquaintances and mutual friends. Keep well and remain convinced of the friendship and attachment with which I am for life, my dear cousin,*

*Your humble and very obedient servant*

**LE CHEVR<sup>R</sup> ROSLIN<sup>13</sup>**

*P. S. When you write me send me your address so that I can mail your letters directly.*

when he speaks of a son and two daughters of Vien. In a letter, dated August 3, 1780, written from Rome to d'Angiviller (*Correspondence des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, XIV, p. 39) Vien speaks of two sons, the eldest a painter, "*le jeune aura quinze ans en septembre; je ne sais encore à quoi il se destinera*". He was not yet twenty-four when death overtook him.

13. A Monsieur

Monsieur WERTMULLER Pr Peintre du Roi de Suede, de l'accademie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture de Paris  
chez Mr Windisch a Bourdeaux  
negociant

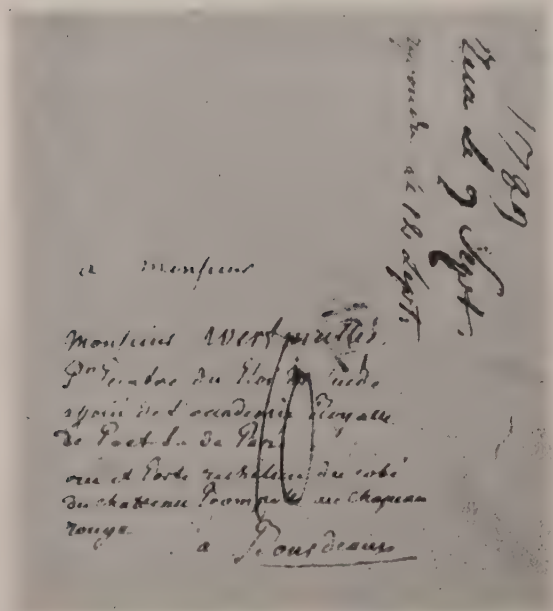


FIG. 7. — Address on Roslin's letter to Wertmuller of September 4, 1789.

Recu .....	300 livres
depensés	170
plus	3 le mois d'octobre dernier pour le portier
et	3 pour le livre de l'accademie
	176
reste	124 livres entre mes mains a vous appartiennent

Mad Martineau se porte dieu merci bien d'après sa couche. Elle m'a donné une jolie petite fille le 1<sup>r</sup> jour de l'an a 7 heure du matin pour Etrenne. Nos Pauvres amis Mr et Mde Vien, sont dans le chagrin de la perte de leur fils Rosny qui donnoit tant d'Esperance de devenir un de plus habil architecte de ce siecle s'il avoit vecu, il n'y a

1789.

(reçu le 12 Fev:  
respondu le 24 Fev.)

a Paris ce 4 Fev. 1789.

Mon tres cher Cousin

J'ai reçu il y a quelque tems la lettre sans datte que vous m'avés fait l'amitié de m'ecrire vraisemblément au commencement du mois dernier, je vous remercie bien sincerement pour les vœux que vous y formés pour ma prosperité comme pour celle de mes Enfants et vous prie d'agréer en retour tant pour ma part que pour ceux qui m'appartiennent les souhaits que nous vous faisons pour que vous vous portiés bien et puissiés employes votre tems utilement pendant votre absence. Je suis bien charmé d'apprendre par mon fils que vous ayés trouvé l'occasion de vous occuper avantageusement selon tout aparence pendant plusieurs mois ce qui n'empêchera pas que vous suiviés mon projet d'aller plus loin. Lorsque vous aurés tiré partie de d'Endroit que vous habités maintenant car il faut travailler pour gagner de l'argent pendant qu'on est jeune et bien portant afin de le ramasser de quoi vivre quand l'age et les infirmités nous affligent et nous privent des moyens d'en faire davantage.

J'ai reçu de Mr. Guttenbrun les 300 livres pour son quartier d'octobre echu le 1<sup>r</sup> janvier de la presante année. Le domestique m'a demandé un petit Ecu pour le Portier mais comme vous ne me l'avés pas dis que je le payasse je lui ai repondu que je ne pourrois le lui donner que lorsque vous m'auriés autorisé a le faire ainsi j'attens votre reponse.



III

To Monsieur

Monsieur Wertmuller, First Painter of the King of Sweden, Associate of the Royal Academy of P. and S. of Paris.

Street and Porte Richelieu off the Chateau Trompette at the Chapeau Rouge at Bordeaux

Received Sept. 9      Answered Sept. 12.

At Paris Sept. 4, 1789.

My very dear Cousin

I just received two days ago the dear yours of the 29th of last month. Its content is of such a nature that it can only be answered after a fortnight has elapsed and the necessary informations are gathered. In the meantime in your conversation with Windisch<sup>14</sup> see whether you can find out what funds would be needed to form the association, because if I may come to a decision, after the usual precautions, I can at most put up fifty thousand Livres Tournois in the course of the first six months of the next year. So that if more is demanded I shall be obliged to back out. You will keep this decision to yourself, my dear friend, and do no more than to sound out M. Windisch's intentions and see what sum he has calculated on until I can reply in the affirmative, which I can only do after I receive your reply about this, which you will make me as promptly as possible. M. le Comte d'Angiviller is still General Director of Buildings and is only absent on a three months' leave. You may always count on me never losing sight of all occasions in which I can be of any use to you. Be sure about that. M. Guttenbrun remitted to me several days ago 400 livres for his rent, which fell due the first of last July, 100 livres of which has been credited to that of next October. Your old servant has up until now played guard, which he will not cease doing before his present master will have gone, because I shall then declare that you are absent. I have advanced him on your account 60 livres to get him a livery. I will ask you, besides, your permission for him to occupy the little room upstairs until you need it, since he does not wish to go and serve others during your absence but wants to do a little business in stockings. And that is as much as I can remember to tell you for the moment. Embrace my son when you meet him and urge him to apply himself very seriously so as to acquire rapidly all the necessary skill for the career he has chosen, if he does not wish me to die of chagrin; but do

que 8 jours que Sa pauvre Mere scait sa mort ne nous ayant pas été possible de la lui apprendre plutot a cause des meaux des yeux dont elle a été incommodité dans la convalescence nous lui avons dit qu'il été mort d'un fluxion de poitrine afin qu'Elle ne fit pas de reproche quoi a tort, de lui avoir donné la petite verole bien inocament, ces malheureuse gens sont dans la plus grande affliction et bien a plaindre, moi et mes Enfants ne les quittons pas et avons avec le reste de leurs amis bien de la peine a moderer et calmer leur juste chagrin.

Recevés mon cher ami bien des amitiés de la part de mes chers Enfants et de mes Gendres; de la maison de Paulmier comme de tous nos connaissances et amis comuns. Portés vous bien et soyés persuadés de l'amitié et attachement avec lesquels je suis pour la vie Mon cher cousin. Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LE CHEV<sup>r</sup> ROSLIN.

P. S. Lorsque vous m'Ecrivés mandés moi votre adresse afin que je vous adresse vos lettres directement.

14. "Chez M. Windisch negociant à Bourdeaux", such was the address on Wertmuller's correspondence.

not mention to him anything of what goes on between us. Adieu, I remain your good friend and relative

LE CHEVR<sup>R</sup> ROSLIN<sup>15</sup>

IV

To Monsieur  
Monsieur Dubern Sr.,  
Quai Brancas  
in Nantes

forward s. l. s.  
to Mr Ad: Wertmuller  
Mr A. Wertmuller  
in Nantes

Paris, the 25. frimaire, Year 5.<sup>16</sup>

I have received, my dear friend, consecutively your letters of 4 and 7 December. It has been with a pleasure mixed with surprise that I learned of your arrival in France; it was for you to take this decision; but, to come to the point, it is important for you to come to Paris to settle the estate of Wretman, whose affairs are nearly finished. So then, my friend, I am waiting for you. You cannot doubt about the pleasure I shall have in embracing you and in re-strengthening the ties of friendship which have always united us. I am not going into any details regarding the business which is bringing you here, since we must treat it personally. All that I will tell you is that the letter which I write you in answer to the one in which you were asking me for details about Wretman's death is probably now in Philadelphia; I owe you this explanation to show you that I have lost nothing of my exactitude.

I am for life and awaiting the pleasure of embracing you, your friend

ROSLIN.<sup>17</sup>

15. The original text of this letter (of Sept. 4, 1789) is reproduced (figs. 5, 6 and 7).

16. This letter (of November 15, 1796), written and signed by a member of Roslin's family, gives us the date of Wertmuller's return from America. He only passed through France to go to Sweden, from where he was to leave once more for the New World in 1800. Death had not spared his young relatives in France. Joseph Alexandre Roslin, after being established as merchant at Le Havre in association with two other compatriots was forced, by the Revolution, to return to Sweden where he died in Stockholm in 1794 at the age of twenty-two. His sister Alexandrine-Elisabeth Martineau died the same year in Paris.

17. A Monsieur DUBERN Pere  
Quay Brancas  
a NANTES

remettre s. l. s.  
a Mr Ad: WERTMULLER.  
Mr A. Wertmuller  
a Nantes.

Paris, le 25 frimaire an 5.

J'ai reçu mon cher ami consecutivement vos lettres des 4 & 7 decembre. C'est avec un plaisir melé de surprise que j'ai appris votre arrivé en France; c'est affaire a vous pour prendre ainsi son parti; mais pour en venir au fait il vous importe de venir a Paris pour terminer avec la succession de Wretman dont les affaires sont presque finies. Ainsi donc mon ami je vous attends. Vous ne pouvez douter du plaisir que j'aurai a vous embrasser et a resserrer les liens de l'amitié qui nous a toujours uni. Je n'entre dans aucun detail relativement a l'affaire qui vous amenne; puisque nous devons la traiter de vive voix. Tout ce que je vous dirai, c'est que la lettre que je vous ai écrit en reponse a celle par laquelle vous me demandiez des details sur la mort de Wretman est sans doute a present a Philadelphie; je dois cette explication pour vous faire voir que je n'ai rien perdu de mon exactitude. Je suis pour la vie & en attendant le plaisir de vous embrasser Votre ami

ROSLIN.





A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF GOYA'S ART

# THE SAN ANTONIO DE LA FLORIDA FRESCOES

GOYA'S paintings in the little church of San Antonio de la Florida, considered from the points of view of composition and technique, have often been referred to as original. With respect to composition, to be sure, a number of influences have been noted, with the names of Mantegna, Correggio, and Tiepolo advanced as possible even though remote sources of inspiration; at the same time most writers, whether in naturalistic or impressionistic moods, have emphasized the worldliness of the composition<sup>1</sup>.

The only critic who, to my knowledge, has discussed these paintings at length is Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, who dwelt particularly on problems of technique<sup>2</sup>. He points out accurately that Goya used few colours in this work and that ochres and yellow prevail, blacks always being very light, and purple or blue the darkest. Two other colours are listed by Beruete, light green and vermillion, the second of which Goya seems to have used sparingly here as compared with his use of it in most of his paintings up to that time.

After stating that the San Antonio de la Florida decorations are not frescoes

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1. Cf. HUGH STOKES, *Francisco de Goya*, London, 1914, p. 227; A. DE BERUETE Y MORET, *Goya, II, Composiciones y figuras*, Madrid, 1917, pp. 74-84; VALERIAN VON LOGA, *Francisco de Goya*, Berlin, 1921, pp. 96-99 (First ed. 1903); AUGUST L. MAYER, *Francisco de Goya* (tr. R. WEST), London, 1924, pp. 59-60, and F. J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Goya*, Paris [1930], p. 51.

2. *Loc. cit.* The assumption that these decorations were painted in tempera seems to have originated with ZEFERINO ARAUJO SÁNCHEZ, *Goya*, Madrid [1895], p. 30.

in the traditional sense of the term, that is, colour laid on the wall before the plaster is dry, Beruete suggests that they might have been painted in tempera, a method "easy to handle where there are large spaces to be covered, and allowing colour to dry quickly, leaving the brush strokes well marked out." But, since there are no visible traces of the brush strokes in the big masses of colour which form the underpainting, Beruete comes to the conclusion that Goya had recourse to an original and composite process. In his opinion these smooth-surfaced backgrounds — formed by an even coat of colour — seemingly painted without brushes of any kind, were coloured by swiftly touching the fresh plaster with pigment-soaked sponges. Upon those tints, thus actually painted in fresco, Goya then laid his main masses of colour, particularly the darker ones, without any detail, and finally, when those had completely dried out, he took the brushes and, in tempera, formed all the details, and bounded the masses of colour, without ever departing from the delicate gray tone which prevails in the painting as a whole.

In so far as I know, Beruete's opinion has never been seriously contested. Von Loga and August L. Mayer do not discuss that problem<sup>3</sup>, while Sánchez Cantón thoroughly agrees with the conclusions drawn by Beruete, stating without any discussion: "*Les peintures de la Floride sont à la détrempe, au dessus d'une préparation à la fresque*,"<sup>4</sup> and this is the opinion which seems to have passed into less scholarly books.

Beruete thought he had found a confirmation of his assumption in one of the items listed in the account rendered by the merchant who had provided Goya with the materials for the paintings at San Antonio de la Florida. From that account it appears that Goya, on undertaking to paint these decorations, bought a pound and three quarters of washed sponges; and Beruete, relying on his "technical" approach to art, concluded that the only use those sponges could have had was that of serving as substitutes for brushes<sup>5</sup>.

\* \* \*

While not in agreement with Beruete's views, I am nevertheless of the belief that in this case the merchant's account, when read in its entirety and against the cultural background of the artist, may actually be of help in ascertaining what medium Goya used in the paintings under consideration.

We shall have to deviate from the notion that Goya was a sort of uncultivated painter, always relying on his gift for improvisation and rather scornful of any tradition. Those who support that view forget Goya's academic studies as a very

3. VON LOGA, *op. cit.*; MAYER, *op. cit.*

4. Goya, p. 51.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 82. After Beruete had first expressed this opinion in a lecture, a Committee of the Spanish Royal Academy of Fine Arts made public a report agreeing in the main with his views. The painters who formed the committee apparently had in mind only the practice of fresco current in their own time. See: "Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando", Madrid, Sept. 30, 1915.



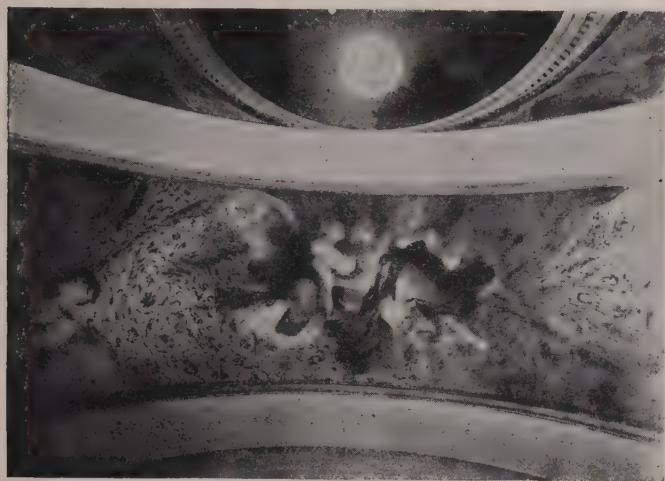


FIG. 1. — GOYA. — Angels, fresco. — San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid (intrados of the choir).

of the world, thus actually contributing to the shaping of the cultural reality of his time, could nevertheless be considered lacking in cultural qualities. Such views are, no doubt, historically understandable when coming from writers of a romantic background; and those who in more recent times have held such opinions were perhaps more concerned with Goya's notorious misspellings than with the artist's obvious awareness of the cultural crisis of his own time, which he so acutely expressed and which he so eagerly overcame.

Now, since we shall have to discuss the items listed in the merchant's account, it will not be superfluous to reproduce it here, numbering the entries so as to make references to them easier:<sup>6</sup>

*MEMORIA de los géneros de pintura y demás q<sup>e</sup> yo, D<sup>n</sup> Manuel Ezquerro y Trapaga, Vezino y del comercio de esta Corte, he entregado a D<sup>n</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Goya, Pintor de Camara de S. M.C. (que Dios guarde), para la obra de la Capilla de S<sup>n</sup> Antonio de la Florida, q<sup>e</sup> ha pintado de R<sup>l</sup> orden de S.M. en este año de 1798, q<sup>e</sup> con expresión p<sup>r</sup> menor es en la forma sig<sup>te</sup>:*

PRIMERAMENTE EN 15 DE JUNIO DE 1798

(1) Media arroba de ocre claro .....	012,17
(2) Media arroba de ocre oscuro .....	025
(3) Media arroba de albin f. <sup>o</sup> molido, a 10 .....	125
(4) Media arroba tierra negra, a 8 rs .....	100
(5) Media arroba de esmalte, a 10 rs .....	125
(6) Media arroba tierra roja .....	012,17
(7) Media arroba sombra de Venecia .....	050
(8) Media arroba verdacho f. <sup>o</sup> , a 16 .....	200
(9) Ocho libras de Ornaza f. <sup>o</sup> , a 16 .....	128
(10) Doce libras y media de bermellón de la China del R <sup>l</sup> estanco, a 80 rs..	1,000

6. First published by CONDE DE LA VIÑAZA, Goya, Madrid 1887, pp. 196-198.

(11) Media resma de papel imperial de marca mayor.....	250
(12) Diez y ocho Vasos de barro fino grandes para poner colores, a 8 rs...	144
(13) En 26 dicho. Quince libras tierra roja.....	015
(14) Diez libras de ocre oscuro.....	020
(15) En 5 de Julio cinco docenas de brochas de Li6n grandes, a 5 rs.....	330
(16) Doce brochas de peine finas de varios tama6os, a 20 rs cada una.....	240
(17) Dos brochones letra K de virola.....	030
(18) Dos brochas de letra E.....	012
(19) Cuatro libras de cola fuerte.....	012
(20) En 30 dicho. Media arroba ocre claro.....	012,17
(21) Media arroba ocre oscuro.....	025
(22) Media arroba alb6n f.º, a 10.....	125
(23) Media arroba tierra negra, a 8.....	100
(24) Dos arrobas y media de esmalte, a 10.....	625
(25) Media arroba tierra roja.....	012,17
(26) Media arroba sombra fina.....	050
(27) Media arroba verdacho, a 16.....	200
(28) Media arroba minio.....	050
(29) Media resma papel imperial.....	250
(30) Ocho libras de ornaza.....	128
(31) Una libra y tres cuarterones de esponjas lavadas finas, a 40 rs.....	070
(32) Una docena de brochas finas de peine, a 20 rs.....	240
(33) Tres cantarillas para tostar colores.....	009
(34) En 11 dicho de Agosto, ciento sesenta rs. vn. para comprar cazuelas y barre6os.....	160
(35) Diez y nueve libras y media de negro fino de marfil, a 24 rs.....	468
(36) Cuatro libras a6il de flor, a 64.....	226
(37) Por veintidos libras azul de Molina molido, a 15.....	330
(38) Cuatro libras ocre de siena.....	128
(39) Libra y media de carm6n superfino de Londres, a 40 rs. onza.....	960
(40) Media resma papel de marca mayor imperial de G6nova, en 250....	250
(41) En 26 dicho. Dos docenas de brochas finas de peine, pelo de tej6n...	240
(42) Tres libras azul de Inglaterra.....	078
(43) Una docena brochas ensollederas de pelo de tej6n.....	096
(44) En 22 de Octubre; dos onzas laca superfina, a 200 rs. onza.....	400
(45) Una libra negro humo.....	010
(46) Y por el alquiler de un coche para ida y vuelta el sºr don Francisco Goya desde su casa hasta la ermita de San Antonio, pagué seis mil doscientos cuarenta rs. vn. al respecto de cincuenta y dos rs. todos los dias desde 1.º de Agº hasta que se remató la obra.....	6,240

Importa esta cuenta en su justo valor.....14,314

Catorce mil trescientos catorce rs. de vn. Madrid 20º de Diciembre de 1798 — Manuel Ezquerria y Trapaga. — Est6 conforme esta cuenta. — Francisco de Goya. — Con mi intervenci6n. — Florencio Mart6n. — Recib6, Trapaga.

Nearly all these items may be found not only listed but discussed in a treatise on painting with which Goya seems to have been acquainted. In 1783 he painted



a portrait of the Count of Floridablanca (Marquis of Villanueva de Valdueza Collection, Madrid). In this portrait the Count appears accompanied by Goya himself and another figure which seems to be that of an architect; on the carpet lies a book. The tooling on the spine of the book reads: *Palo Prac del Pintu 2-3* (Fig. 9), that is, Antonio Palomino's *Práctica de la Pintura*, published in 1724 as the second part of Palomino's *Museo pictórico*, in a volume which also contained the last section of the work, where the lives of Spanish painters and sculptors are given.



FIG. 2. — GOYA. — Angels, fresco. — San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid (altar at the left, lunette, soffit and pendentive).

Palomino discusses in detail the different techniques of painting, arranging them according to their increasing difficulty. Tempera painting belongs with the "third degree of painters," under the head of "The Adept" (*El Aprovechado*) while fresco painting belongs with the fourth degree, painters who deserve the name of "Inventor."

Palomino defines tempera painting as that which uses colours melted with such viscid and sticky ingredients as gum or glue or the like. "The walls — he advises — must be prepared with a coat of hot glue."

In his opinion, there is no need for cartoons, unless buildings are to be included in the painting. In that case the paper for the cartoons must be thick, white or brown, and large so as to avoid the necessity of making too many patches. The only colours discussed by Palomino in his chapter on tempera are: blues, *esmalte* and *añil*; greens, *verde montaña*, *tierra verde* and *verde vegiga*; reds, *tierra roja*, *carmin* and *bermellón*; yellow, *ancorca fina*; black, *negro de carbón*; ochre; and the white of the plaster itself<sup>7</sup>.

Fresco is discussed by Palomino in greater detail<sup>8</sup>. He considers that it requires on the part of the artist freedom from imitation, and mastery. Fresco painting is that in which, owing to the absorbent property of the plaster, the only necessary materials are water and colours.

The plaster should be prepared from four to six months in advance. Although

7. For the foregoing citations on tempera painting, see: ANTONIO PALOMINO, *El Museo pictórico y escala óptica*, II, *Práctica de la Pintura*, Madrid, 1724, Libro VI, Capítulo V: *Práctica de la Pintura a el temple*, pp. 76-82. A second edition of Palomino's work was published in Madrid, 1795-1797.

8. See, *ibid.*, Libro VII, Capítulo IV, *De la práctica, y observaciones de la Pintura al fresco*, pp. 98-107, from which the following citations on fresco painting come.



FIG. 3. — GOYA. — Angels, fresco. — San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid (at the archspringer of the choir, right).

the painter is not expected to make the mixture of lime and sand himself, he should know how to do it so as to be able to direct the mason helping him.

As for the cartoons, Palomino cautions against indulging in the old practice, which he still knew in his youth, of drawing them in great detail and even in chiaroscuro. It was now found that that practice, despite the great esteem in which Michelangelo's, Raphael's and Annibale Carracci's cartoons were held, tended so to dull the artist's taste that when he actually came to paint he was left without any taste at all.

Palomino divides fresco colours into two groups. The first includes those which are *mineral*: light and dark ochres (*ocre claro y obscuro*), red bole (*tierra roja*), two varieties of carmine-like pigments (*albín* and *pavonazo*), umbers (*sombra de Venecia* and *sombra*

*del viejo*), "black earth" (*tierra negra*), and green earth (*tierra verde*).

In the second group are listed what the author calls *artificial* colours. These are: smalt (*azul esmalte*), charcoal-black (*negro de carbón*), burnt ochre (*ocre quemado*), light yellow (*hornaza*), green vitriol (*vitriolo romano*), and vermillion (*bermellón*)<sup>9</sup>.

Palomino discusses these and a few other colours. Of vermillion he says that the mineral pigment is better than the artificial, and warns against using either in the open air as both may turn a very ugly purple. However, in enclosed places vermillion should be used; there it is beautiful. So that the colour may keep better, the painter is advised first to lay on a coat of red bole and then to block in with vermillion, thus avoiding any direct contact of this pigment with the plaster. From the merchant's account we know that, on undertaking his decoration of the enclosed interior of San Antonio de la Florida, Goya provided himself with both red bole (*items 6, 13 and 25*), and vermillion (*item 10*).

Palomino also refers to the ochres in general, saying that they are easy to handle and that it is only necessary to bear in mind that they should have some white in them lest they darken in drying. In the account, there appear the two mineral

9. The English translations of the XVIII century Spanish names of colours which I give are in a few cases merely tentative. I am indebted to A. MAERZ AND M. REA PAUL, *A Dictionary of Color*, New York, 1930.



ochres — light (*items 1 and 20*) and dark (*items 2 and 21*) — listed in the treatise, as well as a Sienna ochre (*item 38*), which may be the burnt ochre also mentioned there. Palomino then discusses *pavonazo* and *albín*, "the colours which substitute for carmine so exceedingly well that sometimes, when they have been laid on very fresh plaster, they deceive us by seeming to be actual carmine." On this point Goya apparently did not thoroughly follow the instructions in the treatise, as he bought *albín* repeatedly (*items 3 and 22*) but no *pavonazo*; he did, however, buy red lead (*item 28*), lake (*item 44*), and even carmine (*item 39*).

There is another pigment about which Goya seems to have somewhat disagreed with the treatise's recommendations. Palomino in discussing the umber pigments says that *sombra de Venecia* should not be employed because, however admirable it may look when recently laid on, it is deceitful and disappoints the artist as it dries up and becomes lighter and lighter. He ends this discussion sharply by saying: "Let whoever may like it, use it. As for me, I have excluded it from this kind of painting; instead, I use *sombra del viejo*, which is very beautiful and constant; when using it there is no need of the other." Goya chose to use *sombra de Venecia* (*item 7*), and also *tierra negra* (*items 4 and 23*) which according to Palomino's views, may in some instances be substituted for *sombra del viejo*. To these he added *sombra fina* (*item 26*), a name not mentioned in the book.

Coming to the green pigments, Palomino finds green earth (*tierra verde* or *verde de Verona*) to be "a sovereign colour," but since it fades so much when it dries up, it is convenient to blend it with mountain green and a little bit of ochre, although mountain green is not fresco colour and should never be laid directly on the plaster. The only green listed in the account appears by the name of *verdacho* (*items 8 and 27*), which is but a kind of green earth.

The treatise tells us that the greatest difficulty in fresco colours is to be found in the rather narrow choice of blues. The painter is evidently compelled to use smalt, which is made of pulverized glass and may prove to be a good pigment if the painting is located in an interior where it is possible to employ indigo — which



FIG. 4. — GOYA. — Angels, fresco. — San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid (at the archspringer of the choir, left).

"is one of the intruders" among the fresco pigments — for the darker areas. Perhaps Goya also experienced this difficulty in the choice of blues as, besides the two pigments recommended by Palomino — smalt (*items 5 and 24*) and indigo (*item 36*) — he bought the two corresponding to *items 37 and 42*. Smalt blended with either *albin* or *pavonazo* mixed with milk should be used for purple colour.

As for the blacks, Palomino finds it advantageous to use that made of holm-oak charcoal, well ground, and *tierra negra* for the darker areas. In addition to the latter (*items 4 and 23*), the account includes ivory black (*item 35*) and lampblack (*item 45*).

The pigment known by the name of *hornaza* — a yellow glazing for earthenware — is another of those which should not be laid directly on the plaster, or used in open places. It is most appropriate for light yellow draperies, for which one should first lay on a coat of ochre and white. Since yellow is one of the main colours in the San Antonio de la Florida frescoes, *hornaza* necessarily appears in the account (*items 9 and 30*), while the tempera yellow pigment, *ancorca*, is not mentioned.

Out of the seventeen fresco pigments discussed by Palomino, the names of only three are not listed in the account of the painting materials bought by Goya. One of them, *pavonazo*, is nearly always referred to as an alternative to *albin*, which is included in the account; neither was mentioned as a tempera pigment. Of another — green vitriol — the treatise says that it is not very necessary, and the last — burnt ochre — may be the Sienna of *item 38*. Besides those three there are lime white and charcoal black which are supposed to be made by the painter's assistant out of the proper raw materials, and which, naturally enough, do not appear in Goya's bill from the merchant.

On the other hand, Goya, did buy a few pigments in addition to those discussed by Palomino, mostly of the sort about whose choice the treatise shows some uncertainty. Thus in the line of reds we find in the account three extra pigments: red lead (*item 28*), lake (*item 44*), and even carmine (*item 39*). There are likewise two additional blues (*items 37 and 42*), and two blacks (*items 35 and 45*). None of these added colours but carmine was listed by Palomino as a tempera pigment, and all of them, with the single exception of red lead, were bought on August 11th, ten days after Goya started painting, or at least experimenting with his colours.

While a thorough discussion of the aesthetic significance of those additions would require a study of the frescos *in situ* — which present conditions prevent me from undertaking again — I think it is safe to assume that Goya in his paintings at San Antonio de la Florida was guided by the craft tradition expressed in Palomino's treatise. From the merchant's account, we know that Goya began painting in the church on August 1, 1798, and worked there one hundred and twenty days, finishing his work before the following December 20th (*item 46*). We see that up to the first of August all the pigments bought by the painter conformed almost exactly to the prescriptions in the *Práctica de la Pintura*, and that on August 11th, when he





FIG. 5. — GÓYA. — The resurrection of a murdered man by St. Anthony of Padua, fresco, detail. — San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid (cupola).

received 160 *reales* (*item 34*) for the bowls and earthenware tubs which he must already have been using for the colours, he added all but one of the pigments not mentioned by Palomino. Doubtless the new colours were intended to enlarge the range of the fresco palette prescribed by Palomino, with which Goya was already experimenting.

We realize further that what Beruete and others after him considered an original and composite process of painting was simply the one which Goya had learned from the most authoritative tradition. In fact, Palomino insists that several pigments used in fresco painting should not be laid directly on the plaster, but only on an over-layer on this of a coat of another pigment — namely, vermillion on red bole, yellow on ochre and white, and indigo on smalt. Goya's submission to this rule may offer a better explanation of the two coats of painting found by Beruete in some areas of the frescoes. His suggestion that the plaster was first coloured with pigment-soaked sponges seems to be groundless. It is true that the sponges listed among the painting goods (*item 31*) are also mentioned in the *Práctica de la Pintura*, but there they are assigned the more modest purpose of cleaning up the palette.

Furthermore Palomino, in giving instruction on how to retouch fresco painting, says that the same fresco pigments should be used mixed with goat's milk. By following this process it is possible to retouch whatever may be necessary; moreover this makes it feasible to paint the smalt blue areas entirely on dry plaster, if they have not been painted in fresco. In close interiors it is even possible to use greenish blue, fine blue, or ultramarine, although never directly on the plaster, but only over a coat of smalt. One may think that the two blues of items 37 and 42 were intended for this purpose.

Besides advising the use of goat's milk as the viscid ingredient in retouching, and warning against using glue or gum (since the lime would impair their strength), the treatise adds that Lucca Giordano sometimes utilized egg-yolk tempera, which, in spite of his not having experimented with it himself, Palomino thinks may be good in case the painter has not goat's milk at hand.

From the bill we know that on July 5th, Goya bought four pounds of stiff glue (*item 19*). It is rather difficult to think that the inclusion of such a small quantity of glue among the painting goods purchased by the artist could be construed as indicating that any large part of the San Antonio de la Florida decorations was to be painted in tempera. In fact, Palomino discusses two indispensable uses of glue in tempera painting: as the liquid vehicle with which colour pigments are mixed; as the glutinous substance with which the wall must be covered before painting. Thus, it would seem more reasonable to conclude that those four pounds of stiff glue were intended for the patching of the sheets of each cartoon, referred to in the *Práctica de la Pintura*.

As for the smooth surface of the fresco, the explanation seems to be provided also by reading the merchant's account in the light of the treatise. We find that Goya bought at three different dates large quantities of paper of the size known as imperial. One might think that the half ream bought on June 15 (*item 11*) was intended for the cartoons, but it is unlikely that the two half reams bought on July 30 (*item 29*) and August 11 (*item 40*) could have been used for the cartoon of a fresco on which the painting was begun on August 1st. Here again the treatise comes to our aid. On pages 105-106 we read:

"I should not fail to observe that the ancients<sup>10</sup>, before painting, used to lay on the wall a coat of a general tint of white, and red bole to make the surface more uniform and smooth; and even after finishing their works — with the effort which their miniature-like lines show — they put over the painting a sheet of Imperial paper, and patted the freshly painted surface until it became very smooth and uniform. And although this is a minute detail which may seem unnecessary or useless, I do not consider it negligible when the painting is to be looked at from very close, since a trifle like this would give satisfaction to the common people. For, as the

10. By "ancients" (*antiguos*) Antonio Palomino (1655-1726) means both the artists of the immediately preceding generation and those belonging to past generations, from ca. 1500 on.





FIG. 6. — GOYA. — The resurrection of a murdered man by St. Anthony of Padua, fresco, detail. — San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid (cupola).

Apostle said: *Sapientibus, & insipientibus debitor sum*".

Although his paintings in the little church were not to be viewed from too close, apparently in this instance also Goya as a learned painter followed the tradition indicated to him by the ironical words of Palomino, which were to be forgotten in later times.

Now, without disregarding Beruete's visual observations on the appearance of these frescos, or even accepting them, we should yet have to disagree with his views as to their "original technique," by concluding that in so far as practice was concerned Goya simply followed the fresco tradition of his time.

\* \* \*

However, in regard to composition, Goya decidedly departed from the rococo tradition expressed in Palomino's treatise — where the affirmation *as Art endeavours to imitate Nature, so does Nature playfully try to imitate Art* is elaborated<sup>11</sup>.

The only similarity between Goya's work and Palomino's taste is that the main stroke of light illuminates the two focal points of the San Antonio de la Florida frescos; that is, both the representation of the Glory in the upper part of the high altar — from which spring the light colours in the soffits, pendentives, and lunettes — and the lighted background of the darker figure of Saint Anthony, from which the shadowed, gesticulating crowd circles round the cupola.

It may be that, as Beruete cautiously suggested<sup>12</sup>, Goya on undertaking the painting of this cupola had some memory of Mantegna's ceiling fresco at Castello di Corte, in Mantua, which he might have seen in his youth. The similarity between the two works, however, stops with the device of having a balustrade lined with figures.

11. *El Museo pictórico, I, Theórica de la Pintura*, Madrid, 1715, *Libro, II, Capítulo XII, Prodigios de Naturaleza en abono de la Pintura*, pp. 193-202. This rococo affirmation of a mutual mimesis between the realities of art and those of nature, differs essentially from the Baroque understanding of the superiority of art over nature because of its giving immutable form to the changeable appearances of the outer world, as well as from the Renaissance point of view which considered the two as vying with each other in the expression of the idea of the natural world. Likewise, it opposes the Mannerist belief of art works outlasting the expression of this unfading idea given by nature.

12. *Goya, II, Composiciones y figuras*, p. 76.

In Mantegna's work the figures behind the parapet are leaning out, while those outside are erect, thus emphasizing the upward lines of the balustrade, which in its turn encircles all of the figures, those looking downward as well as those looking upward. Thus their various attitudes contribute to an idea of verticality reaching the cloud-filled sky, where the Renaissance artist marked the harmonious center. This cloud-filled sky, while helping to make the flat ceiling look vaulted, confines the verticality of the whole composition beneath its seeming limit.

In regard to Mayer's suggestion "that Goya, when making sketches for these ceiling pictures did recall the peculiar illusionistic decorative painting of North Italy from the days of Mantegna, which found their classic expression in Correggio's paintings at Parma,"<sup>13</sup> it should be realized that in Correggio's work in the cupola of the Parma Cathedral, the painted cornice — the design of which includes the windows of the cupola, thus emphasizing their architectural significance — is intended to heighten the circular upward movement about the ascending Virgin, which is geared towards the alighting figure of the Archangel whom Correggio placed off-center in the opening of the sky.

Whatever recollections of these two ceiling paintings Goya might have had at the time of his painting in San Antonio de la Florida, the resulting work was entirely different from them. To begin with Goya broke with tradition by representing the Glory in the lower part of his decoration, and placing the narrative of the Saint's miracle in the cupola.

If it was not new to decorate walls with painted tapestries, certainly there was something new about representing the Glory by covering the curved surfaces of soffits and pendentives, as well as the lunettes, with hangings here and there held back by playful angels, some of them sitting on thick cushions (Figs. 1 and 2).

We can easily understand how Goya, who had grown up during the last years of the learned rococo voluptuaries without ever being captivated by the triumphant neo-classicism, should here come to create this work where the smoothness of the varying surface of the Glory's clouds undergoes a transmutation into the uneven surface of the billowing gray curtains and the cushions. In the rococo period it had been a frequent practice deceptively to circumfuse the inner space of the structure with the painted fluid skies, the clouds of which would even descend out of the ceiling frame so as to create the illusion of entering the actual space<sup>14</sup>. As a result, the rococo ceiling skies seemed to hover over the inner space rather than to heighten the elevation as the Renaissance and even the Mannerist ceiling skies did, and suggested spaciousness rather than loftiness as had been the case in the Baroque period.

In these frescoes of Goya's the subtle variety of tints of the rococo skies has

13. *Francisco de Goya*, p. 59.

14. This is evident in several of Giambattista Tiepolo's ceilings, i.e., that of the Throne Room in the Royal Palace at Madrid. Such an attempt at deceptively fusing the painted sky with the actual space was different from the Baroque arrangement of a series of frames crossed at different points by soaring figures and clouds in order to enhance the idea of loftiness, as in Pietro da Cortona's ceiling in Palazzo Barberini, Rome.





FIG. 7. — GOYA. — The resurrection of a murdered man by St. Anthony of Padua, fresco, detail. — San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid (cupola).

given way to a distinctness of colour in the figured draperies which form the background. Furthermore, the forms of the robust angels at the arch-springers lack the rococo softness; indeed, even their countenances are heavy-pencilled, particularly the eyes, eyebrows, nose and mouth. The gauze of their robes does not make them look delicate; on the contrary, it outlines their sturdiness as do the bulky shadowed folds in the skirts and the bright coloured girdles around their waists (Figs. 3 and 4). They are in attitudes of supplication or wonder, some of them looking upward toward the cupola where the miracle of Saint Anthony of Padua takes place. These huge figures (they are well over seven feet in height) against the background of the billowing curtains create an impression of compactness, which is stressed in the soffits by the angels floating under similar hangings, which some of them are pushing up (Fig. 2).

Nearer the cupola, in the pendentives, Goya has accented even more strongly the idea of closeness. In fact, from the pictorial point of view, these pendentives are darker corners where most of the angels — sitting, standing, or lying on floating cushions — have the gesture of supplication changed into that of holding the hanging above them with their upflung arms (Fig. 2).

By enclosing the Glory in the lower part of the decoration, beneath the cupola, Goya succeeded in creating an ambient compactness, thus departing from the rococo

tradition of airiness. And it is just this ambient compactness which, from a plastic point of view, makes it possible for the earthly narrative of the miracle of Saint Anthony to be depicted in the cupola above the representation of the Glory.

Palomino had strongly advised that whenever a story painted on a skylight ceiling was supposed to be actually and physically taking place there, the figures should be foreshortened as if they were being looked at from beneath their feet, even if one must look at them from somewhat off-center so as to avoid too much effort. In order to achieve such an effect he considers it necessary to imagine the narrative as taking place in the air, or at least on clouds; for it would not be practicable to place the figures on a solid foundation as this would hide them from the sight of the onlooker below, unless they were placed just at the edge of a painted pavement, as on a perron, in the onlooker's direction<sup>15</sup>.

In this cupola painting Goya seems to have foresaken the rococo tradition as expressed by Palomino and still found in Tiepolo's ceiling. His figures, which are standing on the ground, are more than life-size (over 7 feet) while the diameter of the cupola is comparatively small: 19.7 feet. They crowd around the balcony, some of them leaning on the balustrade (Figs. 5, 6, 7 and 8). But the balustrade here does not encircle the figures; on the contrary, it is itself encircled by their crowding around. The two impish children climbing the banister slant towards the inside, thus clearly suggesting the space behind the balcony (Fig. 5), as does the mantle thrown across the handrail at a point just opposite (Fig. 7). Goya's aim was not to convey an idea of verticality, but rather to impose upon the spectator an idea of horizontality, which is carried out by the different planes developing inwards from the balustrade.

The actual light of the lantern in the middle of the cupola, blending with the lightness of the painted sky, spreads down toward the outlines of the composition, which at no place points to the window opening. Indeed, the center of the composition is placed at a point on the circumference with no reference to its geometrical center. There, beyond the balustrade, the figure of Saint Anthony stands on a mound calling a dead man back to life, so that he may refute the accusation brought against the parents of the thaumaturge as author of his murder<sup>16</sup>. The figures nearer the Saint — which are enclosed between the man raising his arm at the left, and the mother lifting her arms at the right — form a circular space around him, the circumference of which seems to intercept that of the balcony at the point where one of the children passes his left leg between the rails (Fig. 5). Thus placed, the main group appears to push the dramatic center of the composition inwards toward the lightened background, against which stand the conjuring hands of the Saint and the suppliant ones of his mother, the four united in a circling rhythm.

At both sides figures with their backs to the main group start the swirling move-

15. *El Museo pictórico, II, Práctica de la Pintura*, p. 106.

16. On the story of this miracle see C. DE MANDACH, *Saint Antoine de Padoue et l'Art italien*, Paris, 1899, pp. 318-19.





FIG. 8. — GOYA. — The resurrection of a murdered man by St. Anthony of Padua, fresco, detail. — San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid (cupola).

ment of the crowd; the one at the left is that of the malignant accuser and actual murderer who, his head buried under his hat, tries to sneak out of the throng. The dresses of the sturdy men and women who compose the crowd show an intricacy of sharp folds and shadowed hollows. They are in the greatest variety of attitudes, some of them stooping over or leaning on the banister, some

quietly seated, others standing or moving about; some back to back, some facing one another. Some show a fair carnation; some have sooty visages and tangled locks. There are among them pious, pensive, indifferent and vociferous expressions. Most of them seem to be looking in a horizontal direction (Figs. 5, 6, 7 and 8).

These bulky figures huddle about the balcony, bounded by the massive background. This background, at the right, is made up of the silhouette of a huge mountain the crest and slopes of which seen in profile are lighted so as to emphasize its breadth. The mountainous background changes into a view of thickets approximately at the point where the wrongly accused father stands on a plank, lifting his arms (Fig. 7), thus balancing both the prominent figure of the Saint and the suppliant gesture of the mother, the two on the other side of the cupola (Fig. 5). Nearer the crowd there rise two clearly delineated trees, one twisting up to forking branches, and the other slender, showing the stump of a fallen limb. This view suddenly widens into an open part, thus carrying the limits of the scenery farther (Fig. 8). It is just this illuminated opening — against which the shadowed figure of the Saint stands — which constitutes the focal point of the composition, thus transferring the luminous center from the lantern above to this expanse of light in the visible horizon (Fig. 5).

By this transfer Goya succeeded in conveying an idea of horizontality rather than of verticality in his cupola painting. Moreover, as the candid gestures of supplication and wonder of the angels are coupled with the tense gestures of supplication and wonder of the people above, the confinement of the crowd present at the miracle is coupled with the compactness of the Glory below. There is thereby achieved in the whole an expression of limited space, within the bounds of which rugged, huge figures — angelic as well as human — move about, very different from

the airiness of the rococo. Indeed, Goya, while following in his practice the precepts of a rococo treatise, embodied in his work a vision of roughness and compactness which was foreign to that tradition. What was new in these frescoes is not the inclusion of popular types in the narrative of the miracle, or the playfulness of the angels, which may be found in much earlier paintings, but it was rather brought about by the whole shaping of the composition.

Should we wish to define the character of this work of Goya's by a contemporary word, we could point out a coincidence — without hinting at influences — between its embodiment and what a late XVIII century English critic was trying to embrace in his understanding of a leading characteristic in both art and nature much under discussion at the time. In fact, in 1794, just four years before Goya painted the frescoes we are considering, Uvedale Price published his *Essays on the Picturesque*<sup>17</sup>, in which he set out to distinguish one character for which he felt it necessary to coin a new word, *picturesqueness*, from those of beauty and sublimity. While affirming that the use of "studying pictures, is not merely to make us acquainted with the combinations and effects that are contained in them, but to guide us . . . in our search of the numberless varieties and beauties of nature" (p. 4), Price accepts Edmund Burke's distinction between the sublime and the beautiful<sup>18</sup>. However, his "reasons for studying *copies* of nature, though the *original* is before us" being "that we may not lose the benefit of what is of such great moment in all arts and sciences, the 'accumulated experience of past ages'" (p. 5), he finds that there is a character which "fills up a vacancy between the sublime and the beautiful, and accounts for the pleasure we receive from many objects, on principles distinct from them both" (p. 114). This character — the picturesque — taken from the art of painting although not "having an exclusive reference to it" (p. 219), unveils the charm of what otherwise should be considered as ugly in nature. Thus, to Price, *picturesqueness*, which he does not define as neatly as Burke defines the sublime and the beautiful, is actually the captivating character which prevails in nature against the rationalistic distinctions of sublimity and beauty.

Moreover, to Price, "picturesqueness when mixed with either of the other characters, corrects the languor of beauty, or the tension of sublimity" (p. 89). It seldom happens that *picturesqueness* and beauty "are perfectly unmixed," and it is only "for want of observing how nature has blended them, and from attempting to make objects beautiful by dint of smoothness and flowing lines, that so much insipidity has arisen" (p. 104). If the principal charm of smoothness, which is allied with beauty, is that it conveys the idea of repose, "roughness, on the contrary, conveys that of irritation, but at the same time of animation, spirit, and variety" (pp. 113-115). And roughness — a word which Price uses as synonymous with

<sup>17</sup> *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful*. All my quotations are from the London 1810 edition, vol. I.

<sup>18</sup> *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, First Ed., London, 1756 or 1757.



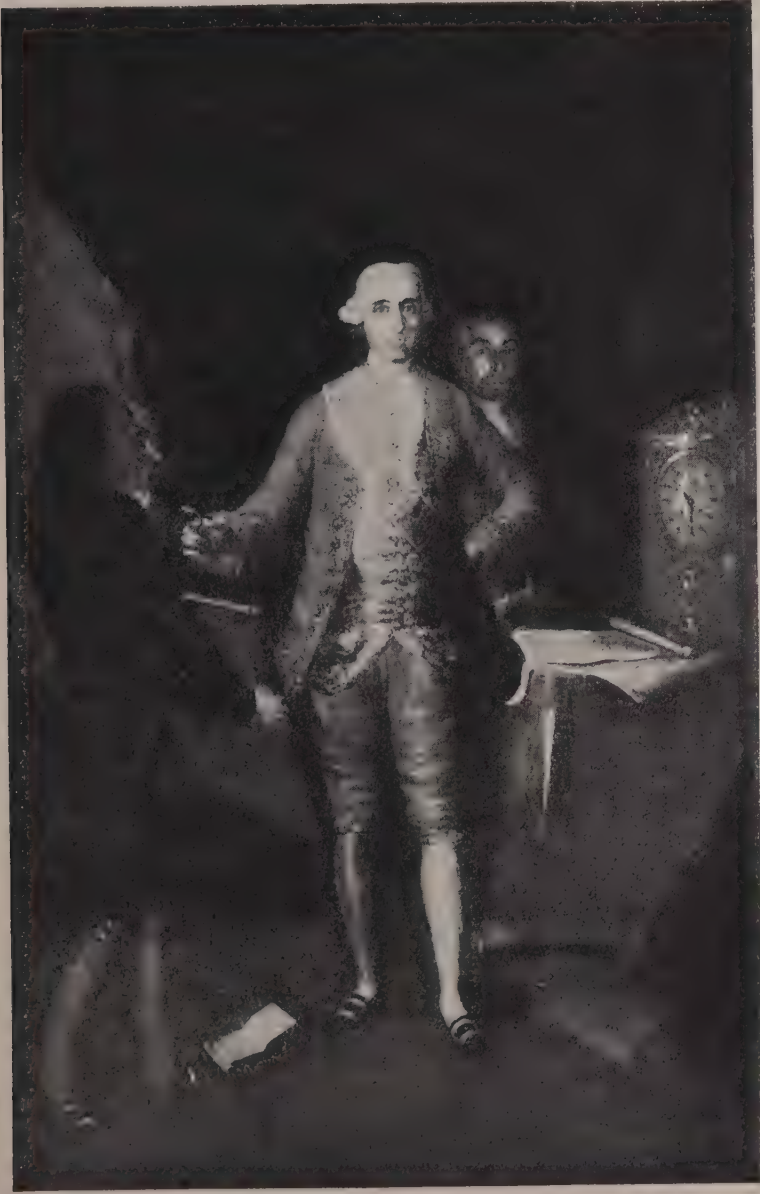


FIG. 9. — GOYA. — Portrait of the Count of Floridablanca with Palomino's *Práctica de la Pintura* on the carpet, at the lower right corner. — Collection of Marquis of Villanueva de Valdueza, Madrid.

ruggedness — and sudden variation, joined to irregularity, "are the most efficient causes of the picturesque" (pp. 50-51).

Furthermore, while greatness of dimension is a powerful cause of the sublime, which is "founded on principles of awe and terror," and "never descends to anything light or playful, the picturesque, whose characteristics are intricacy and variety, is equally adapted to the grandest, and to the gayest scenery." This being so, in order to give picturesqueness to what, like the boundless ocean, inspires sensations of awe, one must destroy infinity, which is one of the most efficient causes of the sublime, "for it is on the shape and disposition of its boundaries, that the picturesque must in great measure depend" (pp. 83-84).

Goya in his *San Antonio de la Florida* frescoes created a work of art which in the light of

Price's ideas we may venture to call picturesque. There the varieties of form and tint, as well as those of light and shade, are united in an intricacy of recesses and projections overshadowing the flowing lines which may be found in the playful representation of the Glory, within whose close boundaries any suggestion of infinity is absent; the features of its inhabitants are heavily pencilled so as to depart from the idea of beauty as much as they are pervaded with picturesqueness; this character

is even more strongly accentuated in the cupola where a well surrounded area crowded with figures whose modeling abounds in recesses and projections and abrupt lights and shades, completes the suggestion of ambient compactness<sup>19</sup>. The singularity of these frescoes by Goya consisted in his freeing the realm of art from any rationalistic idea of beauty or sublimity, by taking into it the rough, intricate varieties of nature, and, at the same time, cutting off any adumbration of boundlessness from the ambit of the work of art, thus apparently subjecting it to the compass of nature.

JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY.



19. A few other excerpts from *Essays on the Picturesque* which further illustrate the affinities between Price's understanding of picturesqueness and Goya's artistic rendering in these frescoes are:

"a certain irritation or stimulus is necessary to the picturesque." (p. 125)

"as a greater degree of irritation arises from uneven surfaces, and from those most of all which are broken into little inequalities, so all lights and shadows which are interrupted and scattered, are infinitely more irritating than those which are broad and continued" (pp. 147-148).

"... inequality and irregularity alone, will give to a tree a *picturesque* appearance..." (p. 77).

"Suppose then, what is not uncommon style or degree of beauty, a woman with fine features, but the character of whose eyes, eyebrows, hair, and complexion, are more striking and showy than delicate; imagine then the same features, with the eyebrows less marked, and both those, and the hair of the head, of a softer texture; the general glow of complexion changed to a more delicate gradation of white and red; the skin more smooth and even, and the eyes of a milder colour and expression; you would by this change take off from the striking, the showy effect; but such a face would have, in a greater degree, that finished delicacy, which even those who might prefer the showy style, would allow to be more in unison with the idea of beauty" . . . "If we now . . . conceive the eyebrows *more* strongly marked; the hair rougher in its effect and quality; the complexion more dusky and gypsy-like; the skin of a coarser grain, with some moles on it; a degree of cast in the eyes, but so slight, as only to give archness and peculiarity of countenance — this, without altering the proportion of the features, would take off from beauty, what it gave to character and picturesqueness" (pp. 204-207).





## NOTES ON WASHINGTON ALLSTON FROM THE UNPUBLISHED NOTEBOOKS OF S. T. COLERIDGE

ON Christmas day 1805, Samuel Taylor Coleridge left Naples for Rome, taking the direct route through Aversa and Capua, a territory

immediately began to look about him. Anything but an ardent sight-seer, he was nevertheless interested in architecture and in works of art, as certain entries in his notebooks show:

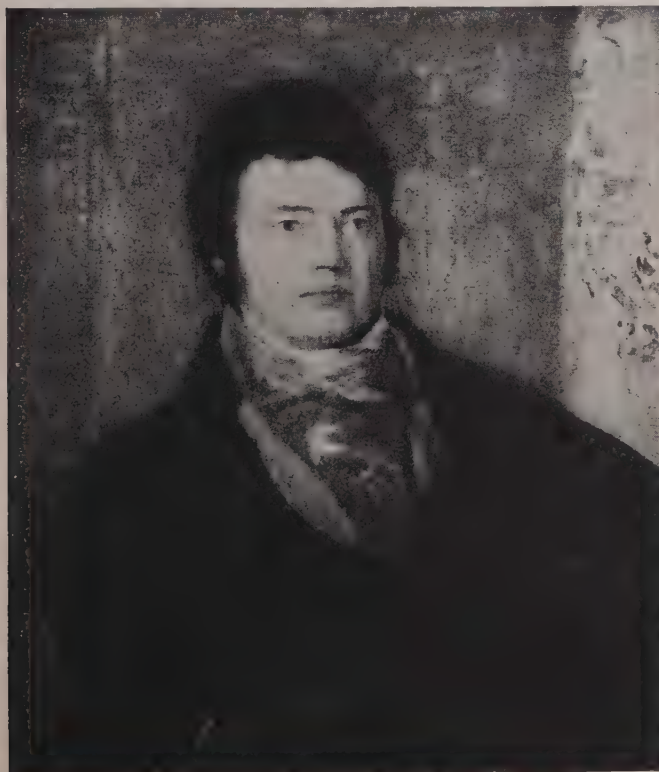


FIG. 1. — WASHINGTON ALLSTON. — Portrait of Coleridge, 1806. — Collection of Mr. H. W. L. Dana. Courtesy of the owner.

"Dec. 31, 1805 — Visited the Chiesa della Trinità de'Monti (*vide Vasi*; I.227.)<sup>2</sup> — all completely ruined by the Neapolitans when in Rome/ most of the pictures annihilated, and the famous *Deposizione* of Daniel de Volterra, left enough of to excite one's deepest Horror of these Wretches.

In the Cloisters all the French Kings & in the intervals blasphemous Pictures of the Miracles of St. Fr[ancesco] de Paola, out-Jesusing Jesus among them close by the porch way. "St. Fr[ancisci] de Paula *Nativitas celesti Splendore illustratus*" [*illustrata?*] An. Ch. 1116<sup>3</sup> — immediately under which is the oval opening of a Kitchen which has so compleatly smoke-blackened the Splendor, that one can barely perceive it to be a picture — Stopping falling Rocks, curing Lepers, opening Eyes with Spittle, &c &c &c &c ! ! ! !"<sup>4</sup>

Jan. 5, 1806 — Santa Marie Maggiore/glorious [one word indecipherable, possibly crossed out] in the right hand colonnade a picture of a *Hermit ascetie* with his Hand resting on a book holding a *Death's Head*, & an angel in the Clouds *fiddling* to him."<sup>5</sup>

Another notebook entry suggests the state of public affairs.

"1 Jan. 1806 — Heard from Mr. Jackson of the arrival of the French at Rome, to be expected on the 5th/ to stay or not to stay."

familiar to readers of present day war maps. He arrived in Rome on or before December 31<sup>1</sup>, and

1. The dates are based on definite statements in the notebooks and correct slightly the accepted accounts of Coleridge's stay in Rome. E.g. SIR EDMUND CHAMBERS in his *Life of Coleridge*, pp. 189-90, says that Coleridge arrived in Rome at the END of January.

2. The reference seems to be to one of the numerous guide books of Joseph Vasi, although I have been unable to verify it.

3. Coleridge must have mis-read the date. St. Francis of Paola was born in 1416.

4. Notebook 15, pp. 166-7.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

Coleridge elected to stay on, and did not leave till the 18th of May.

In his five and a half months in Rome his favourite companion was undoubtedly the American painter, Washington Allston. The exact date of their meeting is not recorded, but it is clear that they met fairly early in Coleridge's sojourn in Rome, and that his friendship with Allston was one of Coleridge's few positive gains from this hopeless journey. Later on he wrote:

"To Alston/ After the formation of a new acquaintance found by some weeks or months unintermitted — Communion worthy of all our esteem, affection & perhaps admiration, an intervening Absence — whether we meet again or only write — raises it into friendship, and encourages the modesty of our nature; impelling us to assume the language and express all the feelings, of an established attachment."<sup>6</sup>

The notebooks and papers most fully covering this period were unluckily thrown overboard, on the captain's orders, during the voyage home. There remain in two unpublished notebooks, however, a few notes of considerable interest in connection with Allston. For instance, Allston's criticism of some painter, perhaps of one of his pupils, is recorded as follows:

"Feb. 15, 1806 — 'He works too much with the Pipe in his mouth — looks too much at the particular Thing, instead of overlooking — 'ÜBERSEHEN' — Allston."<sup>7</sup>

Or we find a description of the valley of Olevano from the house that Coleridge and Allston shared there.

"March 8, 1806 — To conceive an idea of Olevano you must first imagine a round bason formed by a circle of mountains, the diameter of the Valley about 15 or 16 miles. These mountains all connected and one; but of very various heights, and the lines in which they sink and rise of various Sweep and Form, sometimes so high as to have no visible superior behind, sometimes letting in upon the Plain one Step above them from behind, sometimes two, and three; and in one place behind the third a bald bright Skull of a mountain (for the Snow that wholly covered it lay so smooth & shone so bright in the Sun, that the whole suggested the idea of a polished Skull, and the Snow seeming rather a property or attribute than an accident or adjunct rendered the baldness more intense rather than diminished it. The other higher mountains that looked in from behind on the bason with more or less command were lit up with snow-relics, scarcely distinguishable from Sunshine on bare and moist rock opposed to deep Shade, save when (as often happened) both the one and the other were seen at the same time, when they formed one of the gentlest diversities possible and yet the distinction evident and almost obvi-

ous. How exquisitely PICTURESQUE this effect is (in the strictest sense of the word) Mr. Alston has proved in his *Swiss Landskip*, of which it is not too much to say — *quam qui non amat, illum omnes et Musae et Veneres odere*. — The vale itself is diversified with a multitude of Rises, from Hills to Hills, and the Eastern Side of the circular mountain Boundary vaults down into the vale in Leaps, forming Steps. — The first Hills sink to rise into a higher Hill that sinks to rise into a yet higher and the mountain boundary itself is the fifth Step. — On the third Step, which is broad and heaves in many Hillocks, some bare & like Cairns, some green, stands Olevano, its old ruinous Castle with church-like Tower cresting the height of this third Step/ the town runs — down the Ridge in one narrow Line almost like a Torrent of Houses; and where the last House ends, more than half of the whole ridge, a narrow back of bare jagged grey rock commences, looking like the ruins of a Town/ a green field finishes the ridge, which passes into the vale by a Copse of young Oaks/ on different heights on other Steps or other Hills the towns of Civitella<sup>9</sup>, Pagliano<sup>10</sup>, Santo Spirito stick like Eagle-nests, or seem as if the rock had chrystallized into those forms/ but how shall I describe the beauty of the roads, winding up the different Hills, now lost & now re-appearing in different arcs & segments of Circles — how call up before you those different masses of Smoke over the vale — I count 10 from this one point of view for they are burning weeds in different distances, now faint now vivid, now in shade & now their exquisite blue glittering in Sunshine/ Our House stands by itself, about a quarter of a mile from the Town and its steep Ridge, on a level Ridge a little lower than it. — This description I have written, standing or sitting on the breast of the fourth Step, or that height which immediately commands Olevano. — But from our House we look down into the Vale of Valleys — for so it may well be called, for the whole Vale heaves and swells like a Plate of cut and knobby Glass, or a Spread of wood knotty and at the same time blistered/ for the higher & larger Ranges of Hills include as in a plain a multitude of smaller elevations, swells, and ridges, which from a great Height appear as one expanse — even as a stormy Sea might appear from a Balloon; but lower down you see the Land-billows — & when in the Vale you are in a Labyrinth of sweet Walks, glens, green Lanes, with Hill-sides for Hedges — some of the Hills & Hillocks wooded, some bare & pastured, several with white Cottages on their sides or summits, & one & sometimes two or three pines by the Cottage Garden Gate."<sup>11</sup>

The *Swiss Landskip* referred to above, according to Mr. H. W. L. Dana, trustee of the Allston MSS and the Allston Fund, is the large landscape *Diana and Her Nymphs in the Chase* (Fig. 2) recently shown in the exhibition of American Ro-

8. Is this the grove BAEDECKER refers to as the Serpentara, "a fine grove of oaks saved from destruction by the subscription of artists"? *Central Italy*, (1909 ed.) p. 485.

9. Now called Bellegra.

10. Paliano?

11. Notebook 16, pp. 196-200.

6. Notebook 11, p. 102.

7. Notebook 16, p. 195.





FIG. 2. — WASHINGTON ALLSTON. — *Diana and her Nymphs in the Chase*, painting, 1805. — Collection of Mrs. Algernon Coolidge, Boston. Courtesy Museum of Modern Art, New York.

mantic Art at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Coleridge wrote a very detailed description of this painting; it should perhaps be said at the outset that the description was obviously never intended for publication, but was merely a series of notes jotted down for private use. I give it as it appears in the notebook:

"Mr. Allston's Landscape — Lefthand of the Fore-ground/ Side of a Rock, steep as a wall, of purplish hue, naked all but one patch of BUSHAGE, breaking the Line of the Edge about a yard from the ground, and another much smaller and thinner a little above it/ & here and there a moss-stain. Up the rock, a regular-shaped Pine, like its own Shadow, as I have observed in Nature/ at the foot of the Pine & next the Side frame a bush with trodden Ferns at its feet, which almost hide a small Cleft or Fissure in the rocks/ beautiful purple-crimson mosses on the other side of the fissure and slopes down to the bottom/ fissure with ferns & mosses & naked purple rock last/ the small Cleft touches the junction of the side & bottom frame/ & three spans from thence commences the great chasm & dark, bridged over by the weedy tree, but slimy, the bark half-scathed & jagged/ O — a perilous bridge/ take care for heaven's sake/ it begins smooth-

scathed & sattiny, mouldring, barkless, knotty/ red Flowers growing up beside it/ well, here rises the forked old Trunk, its left Fork scathed and sattinny [*sic*] and seeming almost to correspond with the bridge-tree. — Perilous ground between this Trunk and that noble Tree which with its graceful Lines of motion exhales up into the sky/ for when I look at it, it RISES indeed, even as smoke X in calm weather, always the same height & shape, & yet you see it move/ who has cut down its twin bough, its brother? — Well do not blame it/ for it has made such a sweet Stool at the bottom of the Tree, and the high top with its umbrella cloud of Foliage is over your head — behind this and the Trunk is that red spot, scarlet moss-cups or a lichen-stain. — from this Tree, bushes and a most lovely pine tree, one of the boundaries of the left foreground, that, & the high brown bush behind, & the great Bowder Stone on its left, which at its bottom half touches the edge of the purple cloak and I must climb over it<sup>12</sup> to get the prospect of the far valley, hidden by the Stone & the Rock, and a Tree all Foliage, growing behind the great stone & between it and the triangular Interspace of the Rock/ and in this vale, dim seen, field & wood &

12. Here Coleridge inserts a drawing of what he means.

sunshine spots is distanced by the snowy Mountain/ This is the left hand of the Picture/ the middle the sunshiny mountain all jagged and precipitous, in smooth plates of rock, yet the whole all rough from their relative position to each other/ its scales of armour, behemoth/ the Lake with filmy Light, the bushy Island, the tree on its sloping bank, so steep! and shewing its steepness by its own incumbency/ observe its slim trunk seen through its vapour-cloud of Foliage/ and then the dog with its two hind feet on higher ground/ But the right hand of the Picture, the tree with its cavern-making roots stretching out to some faintly purplish Stones that connect the right extremity with the purple rock on the left extremity (N.B. the color is really grey-paint, but in appearance & so call it, it is grey-blue faintly purplish) — & how by small stones, scattered at irregular distances along the foreground even to one in the very centre or bisection of the foreground, which seems to balance & hold even all the tints of the whole picture, the key-stone of its colors — so aided by the bare earth breaking in & making an irregular road to the Lake on which that faery figure shoots along as one does in certain Dreams, only that it touches the earth which yet it seems to have no occasion to touch/ but the delicate black & O how delicate grey-white Greyhound, whose two colors amalgamated make exactly the grey-blue of the larger & the 12 small stones behind and around them & even the halo (still with a purplish grey) of the crescent carries on the harmony & with its bright white crescent forms a transition to the bright left hand thick body-branch & trunk of the largest tree/ What a delicious trail of ivy-garlands the old thin snaggy tree broken off one third from its summit, almost a pole or huge stake/ rotten & half hollow at the bottom/ — but the three Goddesses, for them I must trust to the moment of inspiration/ the Sky & Perspective of the Clouds/ the many many newly-picturesque weeds.

Postscript X. The divine semitransparent and grey-green Light on the highest part of the Trunk of this Smoke Tree —".<sup>13</sup>

Coleridge's account of the Poussin-like painting needs little comment and can easily be followed on the accompanying print. The indications of close observation of nature, "a regular-shaped Pine, like its own Shadow, as I have observed in Nature"; his imaginative projection of himself into the scene, "the weedy tree, but slimy, the bark half-scathed and jagged/ O — a perilous bridge/ take care for heaven's sake/"; the reference to dreams; the sense of motion in landscape; the sensitivity to light and the descriptive words relating to it; the attention to minute detail, e.g. the hind feet of the dog on higher ground; and the sense of the design of the whole — these are all very characteristic of the

author of *The Ancient Mariner* and are to be found in his descriptions of many landscapes in the travel notebooks. From these and from the accounts above one becomes aware that Coleridge combined to an unusual degree an appreciation of a landscape or a painting in the broad sweep of the whole with a hawklike accuracy in observing minutiae like moss cups and lichen stains.

But why did Coleridge make these close observations on this particular picture? The explanation is probably found in an entry a few pages earlier in the same notebook:

"Poem. Address on W. Alston's larger Landscape sent by sea to England/ Threnic on the perishability by accident as well as time, & the narrow Sphere of action of Picture/ Printing: yet even MSS, Homer, &c &c &c — but Apelles, Protogenes, ah where? — Spenser's Faery Queen, VI last Books, & his Comedies/ but on what authority does this rest?"<sup>14</sup>

Coleridge intended to write a poem on *Diana and her Nymphs in the Chase*; as Mr. Dana agrees, this painting (there is also a smaller *Diana*) was probably the "larger landscape sent by sea to England." Most of Allston's pictures, including the unfinished *Portrait of Coleridge* (Fig. 1), remained in Rome for a period of eight years. Coleridge compiled his notes so as to be able to remember the detail of the picture and thus to describe it in his poem; for the description of nymphs he had to wait for "the moment of inspiration". An additional reason for this account and for the poem is suggested by another note a few pages further on:

"Sorrowful yet true Speech of Artists/ burnt or gone to England which is the same as if the Picture were burnt."<sup>15</sup>

Whether Coleridge here refers to the hazards encountered by a picture on a sea voyage in wartime or to its subjection to contemporary English taste is an open question.

It is not my purpose in this short article to discuss Coleridge as a critic of painting, but chiefly to present some of his hitherto unpublished comments on Allston. The few excerpts given are perhaps sufficient indication that his art criticism if collected would challenge Hazlitt's shallow pronouncements that Coleridge was interested only in allegorical paintings and that "he had no idea of pictures."

KATHLEEN COBURN.

13. Notebook 15, pp. 187-191.

14. Ibid., p. 179.

15. Ibid., p. 203.



## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ENRIQUE LAFUENTE, *The Paintings and Drawings of Velázquez*, London, Phaidon Press, 1943, 34 p., 155 pl.

This book on Velázquez' works by a critic who has devoted most of his mature years to the study of Spanish XVII century painting, is a welcome contribution to the studies on the Spanish Baroque master. The main purpose of the book is to draw up a Catalogue of the paintings and drawings by Velázquez. However—whether or not one agrees with his views—Enrique Lafuente shows in a brief introduction that he is not satisfied with approaching works of art from the point of view of a mere cataloguer. He follows the still current tendency to consider the works of art as thorough expressions of the unshakable "national soul" of a given country—Spain in this case.

As for the catalogue, it is the author's professed purpose to include only those paintings which "are, with the rarest exceptions, beyond all doubt the work of Velázquez." Lafuente is well equipped to carry out even so strict an end without indulging in pedantry or arbitrariness, not only because of his long years of study, but also because of his experience in the ungrateful field of cataloguing acquired in the exhibitions of old masters which he has helped to organize.

In the opening paragraph he feels compelled to remind the reader of the only too well known fact that since the most important treasures of Spanish painting could be studied only in Spain, much has had to be written of Spanish painting either at second-hand or after such sojourns as were uncondusive to actual study. Nevertheless, Lafuente does not consider himself invested with the power to dictate the final word on the attributions to Velázquez deserving consideration.

The number of works included in the catalogues of Velázquez has varied astonishingly during the last sixty years. The soberest attitude is represented by AURELIANO DE BERUETE, Sr, who admitted only some ninety indisputable works, the actual number slightly varying in the different editions of his *Velázquez* (ninety plus two possible attributions in the English edition, London, 1906).<sup>1</sup> This represents a sharp cut in the numbers included in previous catalogues. In fact, GREGORIO CRUZADA VILLAMIL (*Anales de la vida y las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez*, Madrid, 1885) included 240 works, and

PAUL A. LEFORT (*Velázquez*, Paris, 1888) listed 270, which in both cases represented a curtailment of the figure CHARLES B. CURTIS had reached a few years before (*Velázquez and Murillo*, London and New York, 1883). It is true that Curtis disclaimed any pretense of compiling a critical catalogue, one of his reasons for so doing being his enchanting feeling that one could not avoid "a certain delicacy or bias in speaking of what one has seen in houses where he has been hospitably received and entertained" (p. vii). His list comprises 274 numbers, while the addition of variants, replicas, and works known only from literary references or sales catalogues brings the actual number up to the neighborhood of 585.

This high figure has been reached again by the indefatigable activity of AUGUST L. MAYER (*Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1936), who in spite of his not recording more than 198 works to be found in Curtis' amiable list, attains the figure of 610.<sup>2</sup> Of course Mayer too includes not only extant works but also no fewer than 129 lost paintings known from literary references or old etchings, or even pictures which he assumes Velázquez may have painted. Of the approximately 430 extant paintings listed, there are about two hundred which Mayer himself considers to be by other painters, studio replicas, studio works, old copies, etc. Mayer's attributions seem to be a little more discriminating in regard to the drawings; in fact, only nine out of the 19 drawings listed are affirmed to be by Velázquez.

In order to give a clearer idea of the extant works of Velázquez—whose output is generally acknowledged to have been limited—Lafuente has felt it necessary to free the reader from that prodigality of information. In fact, he adopts as a basis for his catalogue the selection made by the late DON JUAN ALLENDE-SALAZAR (*Klassiker der Kunst, VI, Velázquez*, fourth ed., Berlin and Leipzig, n.d.) who admitted as authentic 113 works, and listed 107 more as studio replicas, copies and pictures sometimes attributed to Velázquez. Lafuente's catalogue comprises 133 numbers. Of these, 122 refer to pictures which in most cases are generally accepted as being the work of Velázquez; the other eleven refer to drawings "which, with certainty in some cases, probability in others, can be attributed to the master." Only one of these, the *View of Granada* (No. CIII), is not included in Mayer's catalogue, although SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN (*Dibujos españoles*, III, No. CCXXXIII) accepted Barcia's attribution (*Catálogo de la Colección de Dibujos originales de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1906, No. 500). On the other hand, Lafuente accepts the *Note for the Figure of a Musketeer*

1. Among the works listed by Beruete as unquestionably by Velázquez there are a few the authenticity of which is not now generally considered beyond question.

2. Actually there are listed 579 works as ten numbers are duplicated (marked a) while numbers 48-50, 76, 82-90, 165, 210, 367-369, 403-408, 442-444, 465, 543, 544, 571-579, and 595 have been skipped, and No. 67 is the same as No. 448.

(No. CXXXI) which Sánchez Cantón (op. cit., No. CCXXIII and Mayer (No. 600) rather consider as "connected" with Velázquez; he also includes (No. CXXIX) the *Study of a Horse* doubted by both Sánchez Cantón (No. CCXXVI) and Mayer (No. 609) but of which Lafuente believes "that it may be accepted, and that it was done on the occasion of the projects for the statue of Philip IV, about 1634-5."<sup>3</sup>

As for the paintings, since Lafuente's aim is to list "undoubted" ones, there are few novelties, because he considers undoubted just those upon which there is general agreement—strange as it may seem to the "attribution-teller." That does not mean that here and there he does not use a phrasing so cautious as to suggest that he has some reservations, or that he does not consider it possible to enlarge the list of authentic works. On the contrary, not only does he declare that his catalogue may "not contain some undoubted work of the master which can be included in future editions," but in several instances he seems to invite discussion of paintings which have been attributed to Velázquez and about which he feels himself not to be in a position to express a considered opinion. Some of these instances are: his mention (No. X) of the pictures of the Apostles which "in the last twenty years have been more or less hypothetically ascribed" to Velázquez; his listing of the so-called *Self-portrait* (No. LXXIV) in the Museo Provincial of Valencia, and his rather sober discussion of the several extant portraits of *Cardinal Borja* (Nos. LXXVIII-LXXX), or that of *The Arch of Titus in Rome* (No. CII) in the Prado Museum.

Among Lafuente's firmer opinions which may be of interest for American collections are: his mention of *The Servant* in the Art Institute of Chicago as a replica of that in the Sir Alfred Beit Collection (No. III); his doubt of the *Job* (No. IX) in the same Institute, and of the *Saint Peter Repentant* (No. XII) in the William Rockhill Nelson Memorial Gallery, Kansas City, and his considering a replica the *Portrait of Philip IV* (No. XCII) in the Cincinnati Art Museum, which was not admitted in ALLENDE-SALAZAR's catalogue.

Under the 133 works listed there are references to many others ascribed to Velázquez which are worth studying. This makes Lafuente's an "open" catalogue. One may venture to say that it will be a surer guide for anybody desiring to draw up a broader and still scholarly catalogue of Velázquez' works than Mayer's "all-embracing" one, from which the scholar may derive the only, if not small, advantage of having displayed before him all the materials from which to select those which should be included in a reasonable catalogue.

Moreover Lafuente's catalogue should be useful for younger scholars who may have an over-eager tendency to decrease or increase the lists of works by great or minor artists. They may not realize, as Lafuente only too often does, that any attribution not solidly supported by evidence can only be tentative. The present reviewer allows himself to underline this, convinced as he is that

there is room for encouraging earnest labour in the field of Spanish art. Of this necessary earnestness Lafuente's catalogue is a good example. Indeed one is at times tempted to reproach him, if for anything, for a certain overcaution as, for instance, in his discussion, under No. XLI, of the *Christ on the Cross* discovered in Madrid in the Convent of the Sacrament in 1939, which was immediately given the name of *Christ of the Victory*. Lafuente seems to be disinclined to discuss this picture now, labelling it as "not yet studied." One may hope that in a new edition of his book he will be able to express his opinion on this attribution to Velázquez.

José López-Rey

*La Villa Imperial de Potosí—Documentos de Arte colonial sudamericano. Cuaderno I.*—Buenos Aires, Publications of the National Academy of Fine Arts, 1943, XXIV—160 p., 142 ill., 5 unnumbered plans. (With French and English translations of the Spanish texts).

The Argentinean National Academy of Fine Arts, after having almost completed its series "Documentos de Arte Argentino," is now undertaking the publication of a series on South American Colonial Art, the first five volumes to be devoted to Bolivia. The one already published deals with the architecture in the city of Potosí, the legendary mining center in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

Martin S. Noel, the well known scholar, has written for it an introduction in which he outlines the history of Potosí as reflected in its monuments. He describes the transformation of the first settlement (dating from 1546) into a well planned and active city by the end of the century, thanks to the efficiency of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, who was equally efficient in introducing XVI century technical discoveries into the mining industry of Potosí. Señor Noel pays particular attention to the Royal Mint built between 1753 and 1773, one of the "most splendid and severe" edifices of colonial architecture in South America. Unfortunately only two or three of the plates in the book illustrate this fine building.

The reason for this may be that, as often happens in publications of this kind, the editors had to choose between giving a general impression of the city without totally excluding its picturesque aspects, and limiting themselves to illustrating more fully a number of the outstanding buildings.

The plates contain several XVIII century urban plans, views of the city or of old streets, and many details of façades, porticos, windows, balconies, roofs, and cupolas of public and private buildings, and churches as well.

The volume closes with a concise and useful *Documentary and Historical Appendix of the Urban Evolution of the City* written by Pedro Juan Vignale.

One may hope to find in the forthcoming volumes more data about the buildings and other works of art reproduced there. Certainly to do so would be in certain cases no small task since Bolivian colonial art has not as yet been the object of much research; however, the effort would be rewarding as such data would be of assistance in arriving at a critical understanding of that impressive art. An index to the illustrations would also be of use to the reader of these neatly printed volumes.

José López-Rey

3. On No. CXXXIII Lafuente skips the reference to Mayer's number which is 598. I point this out because there is also a misprint in Mayer's text which might contribute to make the reference confused. In fact it is said there that this *Study for "Las Lanzas"* is on the back of No. 16 when obviously No. 597 is meant.



## R E V I E W O F R E V I E W S

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, London (December 1942-December 1943).

The task accomplished by the "Burlington Magazine" during the war appears to us as quite a heroic one. Ignoring the shaken universe around it, it has been continuing its rich life undisturbed by the outside world, its battles, its hatreds and tragedies. Each new issue of the "Magazine" plays the part of a new contribution to the war effort, offering a new weapon to defeat the conqueror. And maybe it has. It has indeed been the duty of the countries that have remained free to use the magnificent and invincible power of their centuries' old civilization to oppose any attempt of a barbarian enemy to destroy it. It is not enough to speak of that civilization, but one should emphasize its value, to store its various remnants in shelters. The duty implied, for those who could, that they actually carry on this civilization; that, by their daily efforts, stone by stone, line by line, they continue to build more of those monuments which constitute its flesh as well as its shield. The "Burlington" was right in taking up this duty.

Thanks to its uninterrupted efforts the bibliography of art had not to suffer the large gap which the absence of the "Burlington" would have imposed upon it. Quite the contrary, a study of the usual twelve issues published yearly during the war reveals an unchanged editorial and presentation standard with only a reduction of the number of pages per issue imposed, we assume, by paper regulations. The gathering in England of many refugees from the European continent, besides its own scholars, has even aided it with some extremely valuable material.

We cannot quote it here in its entirety, but we wish to give our readers at least a general view of the 1943 record of the "Burlington", or some of the landmarks of its contribution to the study of various fields of art, beginning with art in the Western Hemisphere.

In the February 1943 issue, a study by A. F. KENDRICK on *Carpets and Tapestry from South America*, illustrated by examples of that art belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, "provides a further link in the chain of Hispano-American art, taking . . . place with the tapestries and painted woodwork illustrated and assigned to the South American continent in earlier numbers of the "Burlington Magazine." Besides ELLA SIPLE's reports, which have become traditional, on *Art in America*, some specialists have been covering the same subject. In the same issue we find, for instance, a small notice on *A*

*Rubens Exhibition in New York*, signed L. v. P. (LEO VAN PUYVELDE), who, more recently, has published in the "Burlington" an article on *Van Dyck and the Amsterdam Double Portrait*. From time to time we find the contribution of American scholars, such as that of the late GEORGE MARTIN RICHTER who died before the publication in the "Burlington" of his articles on *An Unknown Portrait by Cavazzola* and the "Portrait of a Falcon" by Gentile Bellini.

To close this summarized review of the contributions in the field of Italian art, we should make special mention of JOHN POPE-HENNESSY's small but as usual perspicacious studies of *A Madonna by Andrea Vanni* (in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), and of *A Predella Panel by Masolino, a Marriage of the Virgin* known only after an engraving of the catalogue of the Artaud de Montor collection until recently when it reappeared at an auction sale. An excellent editorial article on *Francesco Guardi and England* has been devoted to one of the most charming chapters of the history of English and Venetian artistic and intellectual interrelations, and illustrated by "one of the first pictures of [Guardi] to be promoted to Museum honors . . . the gloriously romantic *Palazzo Corner della Cà Grande*", (in Oxford University). Finally, the *Studies among the Torcello Mosaics* by O. DEMUS, of which the first appeared in the June 1943 issue, obviously draws us from Italy to the field of Byzantine studies. The brilliant article devoted by JACOB HESS to *Michelangelo and Cordier* (which succeeds, in particular, in identifying the marble statue of St. Gregory the Great (in the Church of St. Gregorio Magno or *al Monte Celio*, in Rome) as the statue of Jules II begun by Michelangelo and completed, for its present purpose, by Nicolas Cordier ("called *Il Franciosini* . . . the 'little Frenchman' . . . born, probably in 1567, at St. Mihiel, near Verdun" and who died in Rome in 1612 after having spent all his life in Italy) provides a new and fascinating link to the history of French-Italian artistic relations. The article by LUDWIG MEIDNER on *The Young Modigliani, Some Memories*, carries the same link towards modern art, while another article brings to light a similar link between France and the Flemish art; this is the article of ANTHONY BLUNT on *Philippe de Champaigne's Portraits of the Echevins de Paris* scattered through the Louvre, the Aix-en-Provence and the Berlin Museums, the Wallace Collection and the Collection of Mr. Justice Murnahan, in Dublin, and for which an astute juxtaposition with Claude Mellan's engraving of *The Magistrates*



of 1643 before Louis XIV and the Queen Mother offers an excellent field for comparison and identification.

The article of MICHAEL BENISOVICH on *The History of the "Tenture des Indes"* recalls a no less fascinating "chapter of the 'Indian' fashion in the XVII century" and, at the same time, contributes to the history of France's artistic relations with the Netherlands, the tapestries published here belonging to the Gobelins masterpieces executed after Frans Post and Albert Eckhout, who took part in the colonizing expedition to South America and Africa which, "between the years 1636 and 1664, Count Jean-Maurice of Nassau-Siegen undertook on behalf of the Dutch India Company". The same author has published in the "Burlington" a study on the *French Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum*.

The article of ANTHONY BLUNT on *Jean Lemaire: Painter of Architectural Fantasies*, brings to light the neglected and most valuable contribution of that artist to the XVII century French school of landscape painting. KURT BADT's study of the most exquisite chapter of a great artist's oeuvre: *Cezanne's Watercolour Technique*, is followed by a rather pessimistic view of the contemporary French school of sculpture as seen throughout the sculptors' studios before the war by *A Sculptor in Paris*, RALPH NUTTALL-SMITH. Several other shorter notices are devoted to French art, such as the *Afterthoughts* of TANCRED BORENIUS of the *French Exhibition at the National Gallery*, etc.

Lack of space prevents us even from quoting the many contributions to the study of other fields of art. We would like, however, to point out the excellent effort put out by the "Burlington's" editors on the publication of special issues devoted to a single school of art.

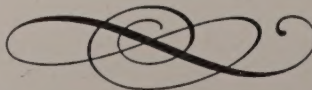
In December 1942 Dutch art was thus honored with a most interesting editorial note on *Dutch Art and the Invader*, with a charming note of a great contemporary British painter, AUGUSTUS JOHN on *Rembrandt*, a study by TANCRED BORENIUS on *PAUL POTTER*, an article by R. LANGTON DOUGLAS on *The Dutch Exhibition in New York* and also studies of *Dutch Pottery and Glass* by W. B. HONEY and *Dutch Home and its Furniture* by R. W. SYMONDS.

The December 1943 issue has been devoted to a similar celebration of Swedish art. It was a special satisfaction for us to find our old friends of the Stockholm's Museums among most of the contributors of that Swedish number: OSCAR ANTONSSON, who has written new and excellent

pages on *Johan Tobias Sergel*, a sculptor he has been studying for years; RAGNAR HOPPE who studies *Elias Martin in England*; ERIC WETTERGEN who examines *Swedish Pottery: Rorstand and Marieberg*, etc. And Swedish XVIII Century Art is the subject of the opening editorial note and introduces in that number the French spirit and the recollections of the friendship which art has helped to promote between Sweden and France.

That issue was preceded by another special Number, that one limited even not only to a single school of art but to one artist: Hans Holbein the Younger. According to records found in 1861 Holbein did not live until 1554 as had been previously stated but made his will in London on October 7th, 1543, "and in a record of November 29th . . . is spoken of as dead". This alone would explain the tribute paid to that artist by the "Burlington" in November 1943, four centuries after his death. It is moreover wholly justified by the importance of Holbein's oeuvre in the general evolution of art in Modern Times and by "the immense prestige achieved by the artist in England and . . . the ideal manner in which his art responded to British national idiosyncracies". The editorial biographical notice which opens the "Burlington's" celebration of Holbein's art recalls the traditional reasons for claiming Holbein's relationship to the British school of art. An article by H. M. HAKE stresses *The future for Holbein studies in England* which are bound to strengthen the ground for those claims. *A note on Holbein* by AUGUSTUS JOHN has again all the value of comprehension of a great modern artist's response to the art of a great predecessor of his whom he does call "the great Swiss with a robust and bourgeois common-sense" but in whom he nevertheless feels a direct ancestor of his own national genius and, above all, "the outline we are all in search of and which may yet delimitate the shape of things to come". The issue contains moreover studies by the great connoisseur of Holbein's art, PAUL GANZ, who reviews in one of his as usual thoroughly scholarly articles, the wide subject of *Holbein and Henry VIII*; by F. SAXL on a no less vast and unexhausted theme of study provided by *Holbein's illustrations to the "Praise of Folly" by Erasmus*; by CARL WINTER on *Holbein's miniatures*; by OTTO KURZ on *Holbein and others in a seventeenth century collection*; and, last but not least, by CAMPBELL DODGSON on *The engravers on metal after Holbein*, another mine for fascinating discoveries.

ASSIA R. VISSON





# NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

KURT WEITZMANN, who since 1935 has been associated with Princeton University and has been a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, studied under Professor A. Goldschmidt (his thesis, on Byzantine ivories, was published in 1930 as Volume V of Goldschmidt's *Corpus*) and was associated for several years with the Archaeological Institute in Berlin. He travelled extensively in Greece, Soviet Russia, made four trips to Mount Athos, etc. His fields of special study are classical archaeology, early Christian, Byzantine and Western Mediaeval art. Among his published works we find *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX und X Jhd.* (1935), a study on Armenian miniatures ("Istambuler Forschungen", Vol. 4), and various articles. He is collaborating now on the Princeton University's corpus on the illustrations in the manuscripts of the Septuagint, of which a volume is in print. His article in this issue: *Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the period of the Latin Conquest* . . . . . page 193 is devoted to one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of book illumination.

WINSLOW AMES was for twelve years director of the Lyman Allyn Museum at New London, Connecticut; he resigned from this position in 1942 to work for the American Friends Service Committee. He is a member of the Museum of Modern Art's advisory committee on architecture and industrial art, and has published many studies on chiaroscuro woodcuts, on the sculpture of Richmond Barthé and Gaston Lachaise, on Piranesi, Canaletto, the Master C.B. of 1515, on William Blake, Charles Sheeler, etc. Drawings, which he collects, are his hobby and special field of study. *Sketches for an "Assumption of the Virgin" by Fra Bartholommeo*, which he presents, upon a solidly built background, in the current issue . . . . . page 215 is one of the exquisite rewards of his indefatigable research in this field.

MICHEL N. BENISOVICH was graduated from the Ecole du Louvre upon presentation of a thesis devoted to the painter Nicolas Antoine Taunay (1755-1830), whose biography he later published in the *Thieme-Becker Künstler-Lexikon*. He delivered a report at the International Congress of the History of Art in Switzerland in 1936 on *The Sculptor Taveau and his Statue of George Washington*, and at the Congress held in London in 1939 his paper was on *The Sculptures of P. Julien executed for Marie Antoinette in Rambouillet*. Recently he has published in the "Burlington Magazine" articles on *Pierre Julien at Rambouillet*, on the *French Drawings of the Metropolitan Museum* and on the *History of the Teinture des Indes*. The "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" published in its January 1943 issue an article of his on "*Stanislas Leszczinski visiting the workshop of Jean Lamour at Nancy*" by Jean Baptiste Benard. In the current issue he presents an article on *Roslin and Wertmüller with some unpublished documents* . . . . . page 221

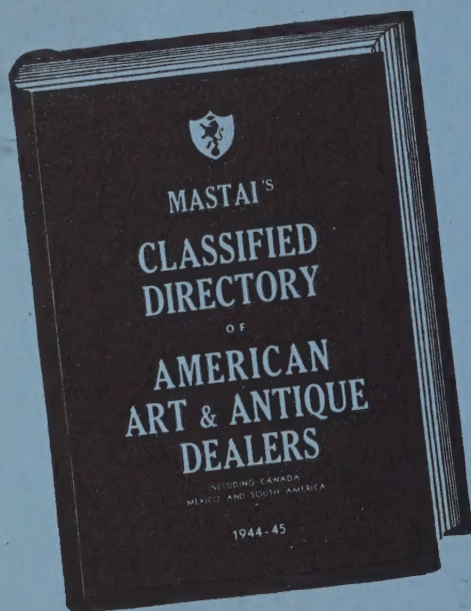
JOSE LOPEZ-REY, at present lecturer, Art Department, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., formerly associated with the University and the Institute for Historical Studies of Madrid, has studied in Florence, Vienna, Madrid (where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Letters in 1935), etc. He was adviser on Fine Arts to the Spanish Government, a member of the Board for Reorganization of Public Education in Spain and contributed there to the legislation passed in 1933 and 1936 for the protection of works of art. He brings to this issue *A contribution to the study of Goya's art: The San Antonio de la Florida Frescoes* . . . page 231 and is the author of: *Antonio del Pollaiuolo y el fin del Quattrocento*, Madrid, 1935, and *Realismo e Impresionismo en las artes figurativas españolas del siglo XIX*, Barcelona 1937.

KATHLEEN COBURN, Assistant Professor in English, Victoria College, University of Toronto, and M.A. of the same University, is the editor of *S. T. Coleridge's Marginalia on Tennemann's Geschichte der Philosophie*, and is now preparing an edition of Coleridge's hitherto unpublished Lectures on the History of Philosophy (1818-19), as well as an edition of Coleridge's 55 unpublished Notebooks from the originals. Owing to circumstances connected with the war, these Coleridge works are all still unpublished, though it is hoped that the first two will appear before long. Work on the notebooks cannot be completed while the war lasts. An article of Miss Coburn, on *S. T. Coleridge's Philosophical Lectures of 1818-19*, appeared in the "Review of English Studies" X. 40. In the current issue she publishes *Notes on Washington Allston from the unpublished Notebooks of S. T. Coleridge* . . . . . page 249

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is by JOSE LOPEZ-REY, lecturer, Art Department, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

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is by ASSIA R. VISSON, associated with the "Gazette" since 1930 and Secretary to its Council.





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